Ludlow no Lyar,

Or a Detection of

Dr. HOLLINGWORTH's Disingenuity

IN HIS

Second DEFENCE

OF

King Charles I.

AND

A further Vindication of the Parliament of the 3d of *Novemb.* 1640.

With Exact Copies of the Pope's Letter to K. Charles the First, and of his Answer to the Pope.

In a Letter from General *Ludlow*, to Dr *Hollingworth*,

TOGETHER

With a Reply to the false and malicious Assertions in the Doctor's lewd Pamphlet, Entituled *His Defence of the King's Holy and Divine* BOOK, *against the rude and undutiful Assaults of the late Dr.* Walker *of Elbow.*

AMSTERDAM, Printed 1692.

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To Mr. *Luke Milbourn* Minister of *Great-Yarmouth*, and Assistant to Dr. *Hollingworth* in his mighty Undertakings.

SIR,

I Must Confess, that when the Act of Parliament Injoyned the Clergy to take an Oath of Fidelity to our unquestionably Lawful Soveraigns, Their Sacred Majesties King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*; my self and your other Fellow-bowlers upon *Yarmouth-Green*, were under a Jealousie, that you would, by refusal of that Oath, have spoiled the old Proverb, and parted the honest Man from the good Bowler; but seeing that the Bias of your Interest wrought your Conscience to Compliance in that point, it hath been an amazement to your Friends, that you having left us near a Year since, with promise to come back within a very few weeks, any such Rub could come in your way, as to stop your return to us; and that we never received any Letter from you, nor knew how to direct to you, till now; that yours which I received this day Sennight tells us, that you have constantly Lodg'd at Dr. *Hollingworth*'s, and had been engaged with him in a business of *a Close and Comfortable Importance*, of which we should be farther informed by the return of our next Carrier; Now we all remembred that *Comfortable Importance*, according to your Admired Dr. *Sam. Parker*'s refined way of expressing it, meant *a Mistress*; but when we do daily see here, your vertuous and well-deserving Wife, and hopeful Children, we were utterly at a loss how to understand you, till the Carrier brought us this last *Tuesday*, the Two Books, Entituled, Dr. *Hollingworth*'s *Defence of King Charles the First against* Ludlow, *and of his Holy and Divine Book against Dr.* Walker's *rude and undutiful Assaults*; to the Compileing whereof, you say you had not a little Contributed.

In truth (Sr,) till now, at some times I suspected that you had repented (as other frail Clergy men have done before you) of the onely good Deed you ever did, I mean your having Sworn to their Majesties, and had unsworn your Oath, and were Caballing with your endear'd

Friends, the *Jacobites*; At other times it ran in my head, that you and the Dr. having been long in moſt inward Converſation with them, you had redintigrated your ſelves, and inſinuated into thoſe your old Aſſociates, the preſent *Plotters*; with purpoſe to ſearch out, and diſcover their horrid deſign againſt the invaluable Lives of Their Majeſties, againſt our Church and Nation; but your Books have put me out of doubt in the Point; and as you requeſted, I have given them a reading, and had now preſented you with ſome Tranſient Remarks upon them both, but to my great Content I find that *Ludlow* by a Letter to the Dr. (a Copy whereof was ſent to a Friend here) hath in great part prevented me, however I ſhall make ſome general Obſervations upon both theſe famous Tracts, and then ſpeak more particularly to that which rudely traduces the Memory of the moſt pious Dr. *Walker*.

The Arrogance which runs through both theſe Books is inſupportable, the Author boaſting proudly of himſelf, vilifying and cenſuring others to ſuch a degree, that nothing is more like it than the Mountebanks, who after a deal of Scaffold Pageantry to draw Audience, entertain them by decrying all others, with a Panegyrick of their own Balſam: All his Arguing is frivolous and trivial, and tho he knows or ſhould know that the Rhetorick of Barking, never moved any man, he writes as tho he had ingroſs'd all the Ammunition of Railing; he appears as ſerious as a mad-man, and anſwers demonſtration with *the Lye*; 'tis ſurely the higheſt indecorum for a Divine to write in ſuch a ſtile as this, and methinks if our Author had any ſpark of vertue unextinguiſhed, he ſhould upon conſidering theſe things retire to his Cloſet and there lament and pine away for his deſperate folly, for the eternal ſhame to which he has hereby condemned his own Memory. His Friends ſhould give him good Counſel before his underſtanding be quite unſettled; or if there be none nere, the Neighbours ſhould be called in, and a Parſon ſent for, to perſwade him in time, and not let it run on thus, till he is fit for no place but *Bedlam*: nothing will ſerve him but he muſt be a Mad-man in Print, and write in Defence of a King, and that at ſuch a rate, that if he were alive he would be out of love with himſelf; he hath, like thoſe frightful Looking-Glaſſes made for ſport, repreſented his Idolized Saint in ſuch bloated Lineaments, (as I am confident) if he could ſee his face in it, he would break the Glaſs. But to pretermit his defence againſt *Ludlow*, I deſcend to make a few brief Animadverſions upon his Treatiſe againſt Dr. *Walker*, wherein I diſcern all along the footſteps of

of a moſt inveterate and implacable Malice. However, I am obliged to handle it with the more tenderneſs, in reſpect to the venerable Licence the Title-page ſhews in theſe words, *Imprimatur* Carol. Alſton, *R. P. D.* Hen. *Epiſc.* Lond. *à Sacris.*

In the diſcharge of my Undertaking, I ſhall in the firſt place take leave to recount the heads of ſome of thoſe proofs, offer'd by Dr. *Walker*, to demonſtrate that Dr. *Gauden*, and not King *Charles* was the Author of the Idolized Book, called *Eicon Baſilice.*

'This good Man in his Introduction ſaith, that Dr. *Hollingworth* did 'put him upon that unwelcome labour by falſely accuſing him of 'telling a falſe ſtory, without conſulting him by word or letter be'fore he did it, and that he was conſtrained by unavoidable neceſſity '(unleſs that Doctor expected that as a *Felo de ſe*, he ſhould by ſilence 'give conſent to his unjuſt Calumnies) to vindicate himſelf; And he 'declares his reſolution to keep that modeſt temper, which becomes 'one who deſigns no perſonal Quarrel; nor writes for Victory but 'Truth, The ſearch and diſcovery of which needs no Tricks, no little 'Arts, no big Words; but is beſt attained by ſedate proceedingsand 'plain and open dealing. And *he ſolemnly Appeals to the Searcher of Hearts, 'Avenger of Falſhood, and Revealer of Secrets, that he will write nothing of 'the Truth of which he is not throughly perſwaded.*

'1. He Aſſerts (page *4th*) that Dr. *Gauden*, ſome time before the 'Book was finiſhed, acquainted him with his deſign, and ſhewed him 'the heads of diverſe Chapters, and ſome of the diſcourſes written of 'hem; and asked his Opinion concerning it; who told him he ſuppo'ſed it would be much for the King's Reputation, Honour and Safety; 'but added he ſtuck at the lawfulneſs of it, and asked him how he 'ſatisfyed himſelf ſo to impoſe upon the World? To which Dr. *Gauden* 'ſo readily replyed, that he concluded he had thought of it before; '*look on the Title, 'tis the Portraicture* &c. *and no man draws his own 'Picture.*

2. That ſome good time after, Dr. *Walker* being with Dr. *Gauden* 'in *London*, he went with him to Dr. *Duppa* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and 'in the way thither, Dr. *Gauden* told him that he was going to the 'Biſhop (whom he had acquainted with his deſign) to fetch what he 'had left with him to be peruſed; or to ſhew him what he had farther 'written; that the Biſhop had ſome private Diſcourſe with Dr. *Gauden*, 'who, in their return told Dr. *W.* that the Biſh. ſaid there were two Sub'jects more, which he wiſhed he had thought on, and propounded them 'to him, *viz. The Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book, and the de-*

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'nying his Majesty the Attendance of his Chaplains; (which are now the
'16th and 24th Chapters in the Printed Book) and desired Dr. *Gauden*
'to write two Chapters upon them, which he said he promised he
'would, but before they parted, the Bishop recalled that request, and
'said, pray go you on, to finish what remains, and leave these two
'to me, I will prepare two Chapters upon them; which he accor-
'dingly did, as Dr. *Gauden* owned to Dr. *Walker*, and others whom
'he had made privy to the whole, and never pretended to have writ-
'ten these, as he did to have done all the rest.

'3. That Dr. *Gauden* some time after the King was Murdered, upon
'Dr. *Walker*'s asking him, whether the King had ever seen the Book,
'answered, that he did not certainly know; but he used his best en-
'deavours that he might, for he delivered a Copy of it to the Marques
'of *Hertford*, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, and
'entreated him to deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to
'know his pleasure concerning it: But the Violence which threatned
'the King hastning so fast, he ventured to Print it, and never knew
'what was the Issue of sending it; for when the thing was done, he
'judged it not prudent to make farther noise about it by enquiry.

'4. That Dr. *Walker* asked Dr. *Gauden*, whether King *Charles* the
'Second knew that he wrote it; he answered, I cannot positively and
'certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take expres
'notice of it to me, But I take it for granted he doth, for *I am sure*
'*the Duke of* York *doth*, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it
'as a seasonable and acceptable Service; and he knowing it, I questi-
'on not but the King also doth.

'5. That Dr. *Gauden*'s Wife, some others, and Dr. *Walker*, believed
'it as much as they could believe any thing; and when they spake
'of it in his presence, or in his absence, did it without the least doubt
'of his having writ it; being as much assured of it, as twas possible
'they could be of any matter of Fact; And there is no shadow of
'Appearance, why he should put so gross a cheat upon them all; for
''twas before it was finished, and a good while before 'twas Printed,
'they so believed; and therefore he had not the Temptation to steal
'the Applause it met with when made publick.

'6. That Dr. *Gauden* delivered to Dr. *Walker*, with his own hand,
'what was last sent up, (after part was Printed, or at least in Mr. *Roy-*
'*ston*'s hands to be Printed) and after he had shew'd it him, and Seal'd
'it up, gave him strict Caution with what Wariness to carry and de-
'liver it, and according to his direction he delivered it, *Saturday* 23*d* of

'*December*

'*December* 1648 in the Evening to one *Peacock*, who was inſtructed 'by what hands he ſhould tranſmit it to Mr. *Royſton*; and in the ſame 'method a few days after, the Impreſſion was finiſhed, and Dr *Walker* 'received ſix Books, by the hand of *Peacock*, as an acknowledgment 'of the little he had Contributed to that Service; one of which he 'affirmed he had ſtill by him, at the time of his writeing this Ac-'count.

To theſe reaſons Dr. *Walker* adds (page 7.) that 'he meets with 'Expreſſions in the devotional part, very frequently uſed by Dr. *Gau-'den* in his Prayers (for he uſed Conceived Prayer both in his Family 'and in Publick) which he never heard from any other man.

Now Sr. you are not to take theſe things which I have tranſcrib'd, to be the Sum total of what Dr. *Walker* offers to evince, that Dr. *Gau-den* was the Author of the Book we are talking of; he lays down ma-ny other Arguments of mighty weight in the point, to which I muſt refer you, and ſhall onely tell you that he concludes his modeſt Ac-count of this matter, in theſe words, 'Theſe are the Reaſons why 'I believe as I do, the Affirmative part of the Queſtion, that Dr. *Gau-'den* was the Author, and *as I believe I have alſo ſpoken.* And if any 'Man can produce ſtronger Reaſons for the Negative part, I do not 'ſay only I will, but that I muſt believe that contrary part; for *no 'Man who Conſiders, can believe as he liſts*, but the weightieſt Arguments 'will turn the Scale.

'And if any Man will be ſo Charitable as to reclaim me from an 'Error, he ſuppoſes I am in; *I even beſeech him to write nothing for the 'Truth, of which he does not make the like Appeals to God which I have done*; 'for if he attempts it by *Railery*, or *Railing*, by feeble Conjectures 'or Stories inconſiſtent with themſelves, or contradicting one another, '*he may with more diſcretion ſpare his pains*; for, as no wiſe man will be 'influenced farther by ſuch Tools, than to pitty them who uſe them, 'or make themſelvrs merry, ſo I confeſs I am ſo tired with examining 'ſuch Ware, and ſo cloyed with ſuch *Quelk-choſe*, I ſhall have no ſto-'mack to ſuch Fare, or think my ſelf concern'd to take notice of it.

I come now Sr. to Conſider Dr. *Hollingworth*'s Anſwer to Dr. *Walker*, and before I enter upon his Arguments, I deſire you to ſmell to a Noſe-gay of Flowers, which I have gather'd out of the Garden of *Their Majeſties Chaplain at Alls-gate*. His *Title-page* terms the Reverend Dr. *Walker*'s Aſſertions, *Rude and undutiful Aſſaults*. 'He Affirms in his '*Preface*, That in his Anſwer to Dr. *Walker*'s Book, he has omitted 'many Inconſiſtencies therein, becauſe he reſolved to dwell on matter

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'of Fact; and has forborn returning those *Scurrilities* and *Scorns* he 'had loaded him withal, upon himself; because he was dead. (p. 3. 'of his Pamphlet) The *Ald-gate Doctor* saith, that if God the Avenger 'of the injured and oppressed, had not called the *Essex Dr.* to an 'Account before his Book was published, he should have been so bold 'as to have given, and that by undeniable Proofs, such Instances of 'the Man, as would have invalidated his whole Testimony, and made 'him and his Book too, a Scorn to the World; but being dead, he will '*as much as he ought* in this Case, forbear him. (p. 4) he doubts, nay '*scorns to believe* that Dr. *Gauden* made the Book called the King's, and 'told Dr. *Walker* so; and the more, *because he Asserts it*; who, was he 'not dead, *the Chaplain* would give Reasons sufficient to satisfie any 'Man why he doth not believe it, upon his Authority —— Dr. *Walk-* 'er's Book saith he, is an unseasonable, false. and undutiful Book, which 'gratifies none but *the great Enemies of Monarchy and Episcopacy*. 'Tis a *Forgery*, and to Dr. *Hollingworth*'s knowledge, *has Amazed and* '*Grieved a great part of the Subjects of the Kingdom*; ——— The Sum 'total of the thing is, to serve the Lusts of *a party of Men against Mo-* 'narchy and Episcopacy ——— That Good, that Pious Man Dr. *Walker*, 'does Assert that Dr. *Gauden* said he Composed the Book; and his 'words weigh more with us, say the *Common-wealths men* than a 'Thousand Witnesses to the Contrary. ——— The *Essex Dr.* is a 'bold man, an audacious Slanderer, ——— *True Church of* England 'men, *scorn to carry on their designs by Lyes and Forgeries, by Tricks and De-* 'vises. —— I was personally Acquainted with Dr. *Walker* and know 'he was an Encourager of, and Comrade with those who had no kindness for 'the Church at all, ——— Well done Dr. *Walker*, if thou hadst a man 'alone with thee, undoubtedly he was always on thy side, and thou 'wert always in the right, and *when the Man was dead wouldest assume* 'the Confidence to Print it. —— *The Common wealths men* say, it look 'very hard upon the Memory of such a Man as famous Dr. *Walker*, to 'give him the Lye. ——— The *Essex* Doctor's talk is vain and rash 'false and undutiful ——— His Book is vain, shuffling, proud, and 'inconsistent, —— *I hope I have made good what I Asserted*, and prov'd 'Dr. *Walker*'s Say-foes, but meer Fictions of his own ——— I wish 'he had resisted Temptations to Revenge, and Vain glory: Re- 'venge against a Church to which he was never true, for 'he was an Enemy within our Gates; and then I am sure the World 'would not have been pester'd with a Book, stuft with so many noto- 'rious falshoods.

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Thus, *Sir*, hath your Hoſt at *Aldgate*, (whoſe Mouth wants ſcowring) unloaded his Lay-ſtall; and how juſtly theſe vile Calumnies might be retorted upon him who utters them, let the World judg. But I ſhall not rake further in this Dunghil; 'tis moſt certain, that an ill Man cannot by praiſing, confer Honour, nor by reproaching, fix an Ignominy. The late Dr. *Walker* had ſuch a Stock of ſolid and deſerving Reputation, that it is more than a wild rambling Slanderer can ſpoil or deface, by all his Revilings; he was ſuch a judicious, conſcientious, learned and ſincere Proteſtant, ſo true a Son of the Church of *England*, that had this *hot-headed Turn-coat* had any Modeſty, he would have bluſh'd to reproach and load him with Contempt, Malice and Obloquy: but vile and inſolent Language coſts him nothing, and therefore he has laid it on ſo prodigally.

I am now to look a little farther into the *Aldgate* Doctor's Defence of that which he will call the King's Book, againſt the *Eſſex* Doctor's Aſſaults, that I may ſhew you how he hath left Matters ſtanding between him and his Adverſary.

He ſaith, (*pag.* 2.) *It was for his Holy and Divine Book, that that great King was ſo highly venerated, ſo deſervedly applauded; and indeed upon the ſcore of which the greateſt part of his Actions were vindicated; and therefore this Book muſt be conſidered and weighed in a juſt and proper Ballance*, (indeed ſo it ought.)

Page 5. he tells us, and who may queſtion it? that what Dr. *Walker* aſſerts of Dr. *Gauden*'s writing the Book, is *all Sham*; *and that if he had dared to have told ſuch a Falſhood, he muſt have ſat down contented with his Living at* Barking, *without any Expectation from the Court; without either being Biſhop of* Exeter, *or living in hopes of the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter.

Now who will doubt Dr. *Gauden*'s having poſſeſſed the fat Living of *Barking*? But 'tis all Sham, he was no more Incumbent there, than Dr. *Hollingworth* was in the See of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt. How then ſhould it happen that he talks of *Barking*? I was thinking that he pitch'd upon it, in regard of its near reſemblance to *Railing*, which has ſometimes proved a good Living to an Eccleſiaſtical Wrangler. But upon ſecond Thoughts I conſider, that the Town of *Barking* is but ſeven Miles from *London*, and contiguous to the ſmall Vicarage of *Weſt-Ham*, which the *Aldgate* Doctor once poſſeſſed; and learning there, that *Barking* was a plump Parſonage of four or five hundred Pounds a

Year, his Ambition might lead him to ſet his Heart upon it; and his Brain being now crack'd at the Diſappoinment, he talks of it at the rate, which we have ſeen a diſtracted Lover in *Bedlam* ſpeaking of his hard-hearted Miſtreſs. But it ſeems *one Falſhood* would have daſh'd all Dr. *Gaudin*'s Hopes of Preferment; I ſay then, Alas poor Dr. *Hollingworth*! you muſt ſit down contented with your Chaplainſhip at *Aldgate* of 8 *l. per Annum*, without any expectation of *Barking*, (though it is in their Majeſties Gift) or of any other Promotion from the Court; for before I have done, I ſhall demonſtrate, that *your whole Book is but one huge Lie, 27 Pages long.*

Page 6. the Doctor repeats his old Story of a worthy Perſon, Sir *John Brattle*'s informing him, 'That in the Year 1647, the 'King having drawn up the moſt conſiderable part of this Book in 'looſe Papers, deſired Biſhop *Juxon* to get ſome truſty Friend to 'look it over, and put it into exact Method. And the Biſhop 'pitch'd upon Sir *John*'s Father; who undertaking the Task, was 'aſſiſted by this his Son, who ſat up ſome Nights with his Father to 'aſſiſt him in methodizing theſe Papers, *all writ with the King's own* 'Hand.

You ſhall ſee what Dr. *Walker* ſaid in this Point; 'I make no 'Judgment (ſaith he, *pag.* 19.) prejudicial, or of diſadvantage 'to the Character here given of Sir *John Brattle*; but with due re-'ſpect to him, I would ask the Doctor a few Queſtions.

1. 'May it not be poſſible, without any diminution of Sir *John*'s 'Veracity, that in more than 40 Years, there may be ſome miſtake of 'other Papers for theſe, or ſome other lapſe of Memory, about a Mat-'ter in which he was concerned but once or twice, and that but 'tranſiently, and on the bye? Or was Sir *John*, who muſt be then a 'young Man, and, 'tis likely, but in a private Capacity, ſo well 'acquainted with the King's Hand, which 'tis probable he had 'ſeldom or never ſeen? I believe few Country Youths, or young 'Gentlemen, are ſo very well uſed to their Sovereign's Hand-'writing, as to make a critical Judgment of it, and to be able with 'aſſurance to diſtinguiſh it from the Writing of all other Men.

'Further; ſuppoſing, but by no means granting, that the King 'deſired Biſhop *Juxon*, as is ſaid, to deſire a truſty Friend to do 'it: Why another rather than the Biſhop himſelf? Had the King 'any Friend more truſty than Biſhop *Juxon?* Or was he too good, 'or above doing ſuch Service for his Maſter, who had not a Ser-

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'vant who loved or honoured him more? Or was he too busy to 'attend it, when he was wholly out of all Employment, and en-'joy'd the most undisturbed Privacy and Quiet of any Man that 'had serv'd the King in any eminent Degree? Or was Bishop *Juxon* 'less fit and able than a private Man, when the Book consists of 'Policy and Piety? And who a fitter Judg of what concerned the 'first, than one who had so long been a Privy-Counsellor, and 'Lord-High-Treasurer of *England?* And for the second, he was 'one on whom the King relied, as much or more than on any Man, 'for the conduct of his Conscience, as appeared by his singling 'him out, to be with him in his preparations for Death. And 'why must Bishop *Juxon* desire another Man to do that Work, for 'which (had there been any such Work to be done) he was the 'fittest Man alive, for Fidelity, for Ability, for Inclination to his 'Master's Service, and for vacancy and leisure?

Let's see now what Answers their Majesty's Chaplain at *Aldgate* makes to these plain Questions, for we find him vaunting, (*pag.* 22.) That *he hath made out Matter of Fact against Dr.* Walker's *Assertions, in his vain, shuffling, proud and inconsistent Book.* Why all that the *Aldgate* Doctor saith hereunto is, (*pag.* 9.) 'He (Dr. *Wal-*'*ker*) questions Sir *John*'s Memory, and talks of his Youth, to in-'validate the Story; but that is *so great an Affront to all the young* '*Gentlemen and Apprentices in* London, *who at the Age of Nineteen,* '*are so very much employed and trusted in their Master's Books and Ac-*'*counts,* that I leave them to vindicate Sir *John*, upon the score of 'helping his Father *in a thing of such a Nature as this was*, at such 'an Age.

What ridiculous Stuff is this? 'Tis such an inexcusable Af-front to the *London* Apprentices, to say, That though they under-stand their Master's Account-Books, they have not at Nineteen, the necessary qualifications of States-men and Divines, that they must be instigated to draw up an Abhorrence against it; and it may be this Doctor, who would cokes them to fall upon Dr. *Walker* as their common Enemy, designs them *a Venison Feast* this Season; but (should he do it) I advise you, as his Friend, to caution him to appoint it at some other place than *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, in regard Dr. *Meriton* lives opposite to it; and it may be some dimi-nution to his Credit, if that Reverend Divine should take the op-portunity to cross the Street, and tell him, in the midst of his Jol-

lity with the Lads, that he hath twice belied him in his malicious Scriblings againſt Dr. *Walker*.

The *Aldgate* Doctor (*pag.* 9.) diſmiſſes Sir *John Brattle*, ſaying, And *this is all I have to ſay as to Sir* John Brattle; *and that he told me this, I will depoſe upon Oath, whenever I am lawfully* RECALLED.

I have heard of *Re-ordaining*, *Recanting*, and *Re-recanting*; and it is more than probable, that this Learned Gentleman underſtands the meaning of theſe words; but 'tis beyond my Capacity to make ſenſe of *Recalling* in this place, and he will oblige me in telling me his meaning therein: And to requite the Courteſy, you may tell him, that I will produce good Evidence upon Oath, when *REquired*, (there's a *Re* for his *Re*) that Sir *John Brattle*, who I agree is a very worthy Perſon, doth declare, That he never told Dr. *Hollingworth*, or any other Perſon, that the Papers he ſpoke of *were writ with the King's own Hand.* Their Majeſty's Chaplain may not take it ill, or think that his Veracity is called into Queſtion, by enquiring of Sir *John* about this Matter, for we had his leave to do it, when he aſſerted the thing, and ſaid, *Thanks be to God, Sir* John *is yet alive, and is ready to give the ſame Account to any Man that asks him.*

The *Aldgate* Doctor affirms, (*pag.* 10.) 'That the Reverend Dr. '*Meriton* dining the latter end of the laſt Year with the Lord 'Mayor, Sir *Thomas Pilkington*, happened to meet with Dr. *Walker* 'at the ſame Table; where Dr. *Walker* was pleaſed *with his uſual* '*Confidence*, to aſſert Dr. *Gauden* the Author of the King's Book: 'Upon which Dr. *Meriton* turned upon him with *the Story of Mr.* '*Simmonds* communicating the whole thing to Dr. *Gauden*, upon 'which *he was ſo confounded, that he had nothing to ſay for himſelf*, 'and though if none but Dr. *Meriton* himſelf had declared to me '(quoth he) the Iſſue of their Debate, it would have ſatisfied me: 'yet the further ſatisfaction I had from my worthy Friend Mr. '*Marriot*, then Chaplain to the Lord-Mayor, and Miniſter of the 'Pariſh Church in *Rood-Lane*, who ſtood by and heard the whole 'Diſcourſe, and withal the ſilence he put Dr. *Walker* to; which he 'profeſſed to my ſelf, gave me ſo full a ſatisfaction, that upon that 'account I ventured to give the World an Account of it in 'print.

Now it had been much better either to have let this Story quite alone, or to have given a true Relation of it: but our Author truſts

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to Falſhoods more than to the Truth of the Cauſe; he ſaith in his Preface, *If any Man queſtions the Truth of theſe Living Evidences I have quoted, if he pleaſes to come to me, I will wait upon him to them, and he ſhall have ſatisfaction from themſelves of the truth of what I have writ.* I ſhould tell him now, if I did not know him, that he might be aſhamed to prevaricate as he doth; but he hath caſt off all Shame; he exclaims thus upon Dr. *Walker* (page 20.) *Well done Dr.* Walker, *if thou ever hadſt a Man alone with thee, undoubtedly he was alwaies on thy ſide, and thou wert always in the right; and when the Man was dead, wouldſt aſſume the confidence to print it.*

In what words now ſhall I beſpeak Dr. *Hollingworth?* he offers to wait upon any Man who is doubtful in the Matter, to the Perſons he names; and yet I am at a certainty that he hath aſſumed the confidence to put theſe reverend Divines, Dr. *Meriton* and Mr. *Marriot* (whom he terms his Worthy Friends) in print, (whilſt living) without their Privity or Conſent, or conſulting them of the truth of what he relates; and I am as ſure that they will not averr what he aſſerts they told him; for without putting the Doctor to the trouble of waiting upon him, I engaged a Friend to enquire of theſe Reverend Perſons of the truth of what he writes relating to them; and Dr. *Meriton* ſaith, that Dr. *Hollingworth* hath committed *two Miſtakes* (to give it no harder Name) in the Story; for whereas he affirms that Dr. *Walker, with his uſual Confidence*, began the Diſcourſe at my Lord-Mayor's Table, Dr. *Meriton* declares, that there was no ſuch Diſcourſe at the Table, but that after Dinner he himſelf began the Diſcourſe, taking Dr. *Walker* into a Corner of the Room, and Mr. *Marriot* is pleaſed to declare, that he did not much obſerve the Diſcourſe, not charge his Memory with the Particulars thereof, but believes that Dr. *Meriton* began it; and that Dr. *Walker* did aſſert, in reply to him, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of the Book. Yet we are to believe, if we pleaſe, that poor Dr. *Walker* was confounded and put to ſilence: but I am ſure the *Aldgate* Doctor ought to be ſo, whoſe very aſſerting a thing ought to carry in in ſelf an Argument of Credibility; and from henceforth ſurely he will be for ever baniſhed from the Society of Learned and Honeſt Men.

Where are we next? Dr. *Hollingworth* ſaith, (*pag.* 9.) *The next thing I ſhall diſcourſe upon, is the Story of Mr.* Simmonds. Is it ſo? come then, let me hear it; *A reverend Friend, the Vicar of* Witham *acquainted him where the Widow of Mr.* Simmonds *lived*;

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The Doctor went to her, and enquired whether she knew any thing of the King's Book, and how far her Husband was concerned in it? She presently answer'd the Doctor, that going into her Husband's Study, she saw upon the Table a Book in writing, which she knew was not her Husband's Hand, and therefore asked him whose it was; but he turned her off, with bidding her mind her own Business.

A doughty Story upon my word; and such a Command as this (*to mind his own Business*) from my Lord Bishop of *London* to our Doctor, might have prevented the blotting of abundance of Paper; but seeing 'tis tumbled out, and that with the License of his Lordship's Chaplain, with a vain imagination that it serves the Cause; I will take the liberty to say, That a Friend of mine, without consulting either the Vicar of *Witham*, or the Vicar of *Gotham* found, that Mris. *Simmonds* lived with Mr. *Span* in *Creed-lane* near *Black-Fryers*; and he assures me, that upon discourse with her, she appeared to be a very discreet and good Woman, (as in earnest I am assured her Reverend Husband was) and did acknowledg that Dr. *Hollingworth* had been with her; which without further examination of the abovementioned Story, (it deserving no Remark) I will allow to justify the Doctor therein. But (quoth he, *pag.* 11.) *she told me, her Husband never joyed himself after the King's Murther, but fell sick and died the* 29th *of* March *following*. So she told my Friend, but with this difference (as the Doctor knows, but he seems resolved never to tell the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth) that his Sickness whereof he died was *the Small-Pox*.

The Doctor's next *living Witness* is your honest Name-sake Mr. *Milbourn* the Printer; *he told the* Aldgate *Chaplain* (if a Man may take his word) 'That in 1648 he was Apprentice to Mr. *Grisman* 'a Printer; at which time Mr. *Simmonds*, by Mr. *Royston*, sent 'the King's Book to be Printed, and that his Master did Print it; 'and that Mr. *Simmonds* alwaies had the Name of sending it to 'the Press, and that it came to them as from the King.

Now though it seems as improbable that a Printer's Apprentice should know the Author of a Book which comes to his Master, through several Hands (as 'tis in this Relation) to be Printed with the greatest privacy, as that those *London* Apprentices who understand the keeping their Master's Accompts, are therefore capable of being Ministers of State: Yet I will not contend this matter with Mr. *Milbourn*, but be it as he saies.

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In the next place (*pag.* 13.) I find a Certificate under the Hand of Mr. *Clifford*, who assisted Mr. *Milbourn* in Composing and Correcting the Book; which backs his Story, with this Addition, that 'great part of the Book was seized in Mr. *Simmond*'s Lodgings; 'and he, *though in a Shepherd's Habit*, was so far discovered, as 'that he was pursued into Great *Carter-Lane*, by the Rebels; 'where he took Refuge, and *the bloody Villains fired two Pistols at 'him, which frighted him up Stairs, and out of the Garret-window he 'made his escape over the Houses.* And he further saith, That he 'never heard, nay, that *he is sure Dr.* Gauden *never was concerned 'in that Book*, by which Mr. *Milbourn* and himself printed it.

This Certificate, I find, *Sir*, is attested by your self and *Margaret Hollingworth:* And one of your and my Neighbours, was inquisitive, upon the reading it, to know whether this *Jewel*, for so they say *Margaret* is in the Greek, be the Doctor's Wife or Daughter? but I could not resolve it.

Now had Dr. *Walker* been alive, and had *Clifford* made Oath of what he here asserts, I know not but he might have been indicted for Perjury, for saying; That *he is sure Dr.* Gauden *was never concerned in the Book*. And then Dr. *Hollingworth*, who confesses that he procured and penn'd this Certificate, might have been in some danger of an Indictment for Subornation.

But pray let us compare the Relation of Mr. *Clifford* with that of good Mrs. *Simmonds*; She saith, 'That she lodged with her Husband 'in *Carter-Lane*; and that their Lodgings being discovered, *a Souldier 'shot a Pistol to mark the Door*, (the very Expression used by Dr. *Walker* in his Relation of the Story, *pag.* 30.) but she and her 'Husband were at that time at Dinner with a Major of the King's, 'at one Mr. *Chibar*'s a Minister about *Old Fish-street*; and had no-'tice brought thither, that Souldiers had been at their Lodgings; 'whereupon her Husband went away, bidding her go home: 'And the Souldiers coming soon after to Mr. *Chibars* his House, the 'Major made his escape at *a Garret-Window*, before the Door of 'the House was unlock'd. And she further told my Friend, That 'till he read it to her out of Dr. *Hollingworth*'s Book, *She never heard 'of her Husband's going in a Shepherd's Habit.* But when this Matter comes to be scrutiniz'd, I foresee that our Doctor will affirm, That by *a Shepherd's Habit*, he only meant *a Gown and Cassock*.

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The next material thing which occurs is, (*pag.* 17.) *If he* (the *Eſſex* Doctor) *had writ nothing but Truth, a Nut-ſhell would have held it all.*

There are more Brains in a Walnut, than in the *Aldgate* Doctor's dry Skull, and their Shells are alike thin and brittle; he is equally a Stranger to Wit and Manners, but a quart Pot will ſcarce contain the Falſhoods which he hath writ.

Page 19. Our Author inſerts the Tranſcripts of two Letters from one *Tom. Long* of *Exeter*, as he affirms; which ſay, *That Dr.* Gauden *told him, that he was fully convinc'd that the* Eicon Baſilice *was entirely the King's Work.* This famous Story, I obſerve, is eſteemed by their Majeſties *Aldgate* Chaplain, as a ſtabbing Evidence; for before he came at it, we were threatned with it all along in his Book: *Page* 6. he ſaid, *By and by I will prove, under the Hand of a more credible Man than ever Dr.* Walker *was, that Dr.* Gauden *had another Opinion of the Author of the Book.* *Page* 17. We have the ſame thing over again in theſe words; *I ſay, and will prove it by a better Evidence than Dr.* Walker *can be ſuppoſed to be, that Dr.* Gauden, *after he was Biſhop of* Exeter, *did juſtify it to be the King's Book.* *Page* 18. this celebrated Witneſs is produced; and our Doctor tells us, 'Tis Mr. *Long*, Prebendary, *as he takes it*, of *Exeter.* And, *page* 20. he thus characterizes him; *I muſt tell the Reader, that he is an ancient, grave, Reverend Divine, well known for his Truth and Honeſty; one, who as he is a profeſſed Member of the Church of* England, *ſo he hath always been true to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of it, in his Preaching and Practice; and not like my Adverſary, who I know (for I was perſonally acquainted with him) was an Encourager of, and Comrade, principally with thoſe who had no kindneſs for the Church at all.*

I muſt, with your leave Sir, a little remark upon this moſt extraordinary and remarkable Man. Dr. *Hollingworth* is, no doubt, ſure of the truth of what he ſaies; we are bound to believe him, though he is not at a certainty what this *Long* is; for he tells us, that he is Prebendary of *Exeter, as he takes it. He hath alwaies been true to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* England. That's indeed ſomething, and makes the *Prebendary* a much more valuable Man than our *Chaplain*; for he, once upon a time declared, that *he thanked God, he had vomited up all his Calviniſtical Principles.* Whereupon a Perſon of true Worth, and of high Deſert, replied thus to him; *Then the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *and*

St. Paul's

St. Paul's *Epiſtles have ſpew'd you out for an Apoſtate; and ſo farewell to you for a Knave.*

But I may not let the *Prebendary* thus ſlide out of my hands: I have found there's ſomething more than ordinary in the Man, which recommends him to the Doctor's Favour, and I will not withhold it from you. There's a kind of Sympathy in the natures of theſe two mighty Church-men; our Doctor propoſed, *page* 50. of his ſecond Defence, *That every Pariſh of* England *ſhould buy the famous* Eicon Baſilice (with the other Works of King *Charles*) *and chain it up, to inform the Minds of all good Men:* and the *Prebendary* hath a Crochet of *reading ſome Portions out of it, in the Church, for the further enlightning our Underſtanding.* Behold how they piſs in a Quill; and for ought I know, the next propoſal from theſe Men may be, to read *the Arcadian Prayer* in the ſame Book, for the furthering of our Devotion.

I proceed to give you ſomething more of *Long's* juſt Character, and leave it to you to judg how much you find of *Hollingworth* therein. He hath an aking Tooth at *Lectures and Sermons* too; and a mighty Spleen at *Free-Prayer*; he would have all the publick Miniſtrations to conſiſt in reading *Liturgies and Homilies.* But his virulent Book, called *Vox Cleri, or the Senſe of the Clergy, concerning the making of Alterations in the eſtabliſh'd Liturgy*, publiſhed in the Year 1690, doth moſt truly ſpeak the Man's Principles, and diſcover what ſort of Men, are, in our Doctor's eſteem, the *True Church of England-Men*; and upon what ſcore he terms the pious Dr. *Walker* an Adverſary to the Church.

This Book is a Libel upon that great and excellent Perſon, his Grace my Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* that now is, and ſeveral others of the highly deſerving Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, who were found inclinable to the much long'd-for *Union of Proteſtants* in the late *Convocation.*

He glories that *the Clergy* oppoſed and overthrew *a Bill for Comprehenſion*, contrived by Biſhop *Wilkins*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and Judg *Hales*; becauſe they thought *a Faction within the Church would prove more hurtful than a Schiſm without it*, &c. He rejoices that Dr. *Jane* was choſen *Prolocutor of the Convocation*, in oppoſition to Dr. *Tillotſon*, and ſaies, that 'tis look'd upon as a good Omen of ſucceſs in their Proceedings for the good of the Church; and throughout the whole Book he puts an high value upon Dr. *Jane* for oppoſing any alteration in the Liturgy or Ceremonies, with a

Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare, and at the ſame time caſts leering Reflections upon the Friends of Union and Peace, under the name of *Latitudinarians*. He oft extols and magnifies *the Non-ſwearing Biſhops*, and calls their *deſerved Deprivation* for their Obſtinacy, a dealing with them as the Biſhops were dealt with in 1642, by the *Scotiſh* and *Diſſenters* Malice. He expreſly declares himſelf againſt parting with any thing for the Diſſenters ſatisfaction; and perſwades to the inforcing them to Uniformity by ſtrict Diſcipline. But I may not dwell upon his envenom'd Invective; in ſhort both *Hollingworth* and *Long* appear to be *Fiery Zealots*, *Violent Bigots*, who ſtand at an irreconcilable diſtance with diſſenting Proteſtants, and will run both out of the Church, and their Wits too, if the Parliament ſhould think fit to let the Diſſenters in, upon an honourable Accommodation of our Differences. And 'twould be ſtrange indeed, if a Man of Dr. *Walker's* healing Spirit, ſhould have any Credit with ſuch Men as theſe: but 'tis his Honour to be traduced by them.

But now he falls with a Witneſs upon poor Dr. *Walker*, ſaying, (*page* 22.) *I have a Commiſſion from the preſent Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *Dr.* Fowler, *to preſent the World with this Narrative atteſted by himſelf, which has a great deal in it, conſidering the former Teſtimonies.*

The former Teſtimonies, indeed conſidered (which have nothing in them but Falſhood, and empty or angry Words) I muſt allow that there is ſomething in this, though not to the Doctor's Purpoſe: We have here a Certificate atteſted by my Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, which fills almoſt three Pages, with moſt undoubted Truth; and this muſt be eſteemed ſomething, and 'tis a rare thing too; for (this Relation excepted) a Man may aver that there is ſcarce a Paragraph in their Majeſties Chaplain's ſeven and twenty Pages without a Falſhood. It behoves then that we look into this Narrative: The Sum of it is this.

'About 28 Years ſince Mrs. *Ktighly*, a very Religious and Pious Gentlewoman, told 'Dr. *Fowler*, that a Captain of the Parliament Army told her, that being appointed 'to ſtand every Morning at his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber Door, when he was a Priſo-'ner in the *Iſle of Wight*, he obſerved, for ſeveral days, that he went into his Cloſet, 'and there ſtaid a conſiderable time, and then went into the Garden: And the Cap-'tain perceiving that *he ſtill left the Key in the Cloſet Door*, he went in, and found 'that the King had been penning moſt Devout and Pious Meditations and Prayers, 'which the Captain read for ſeveral Mornings together. And Mrs. *Ktighley* ſaid, 'That he gave ſuch an Account of theſe Meditations and Prayers, that ſhe was con-'fident they were printed in *Eicon Baſilice*, after ſhe came to read the ſame.

And I am very inclinable to be of good Mrs. *Ktighley's* Mind; and yet this Relation doth more ſerve Dr. *Walker* than Dr. *Hollingworth*. It muſt be remembred that the *Eſſex* Doctor aſſerts that Dr. *Gauden* ſent a Copy of the Book by the Marqueſs of *Hertford* to the King, when a Priſoner in the *Iſle of Wight*, and that he believes it was corrected by his Majeſty. The Deſign of the Book was, *ad Captandum Populum*; and this King was no Fool I aſſure you: He ſpent ſome time every Morning

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in perusing and making such Alterations and Emendations as he thought fit in the Papers, and then took his walk, leaving the Key in his Closet-Door, and the Devout Papers upon the Table, as a Bait to catch the Captain; for though, as the *Aldgate* Chaplain most wittily express'd himself, Some Birds are not to be catch'd with Chaff, yet some may: And so I think the Mystery is unriddled.

And now, that I may take a full revenge upon the Doctor, I fall upon him with the But-end of another Bishop; 'tis Dr. *Nicholson* who was Bishop of *Gloucester* at the time when the Widow of Dr. *Gauden*, after her Husband's Death, resided in that City: This Bishop understanding that Mrs. *Gauden* did declare that her Husband wrote the King's Book, and desiring to be fully satisfied in that Point, did put the Question to her, upon her receiving the Sacrament; and she then affirmed, that it was wrote by her Husband. For the Truth of this, I can appeal to Persons of undoubted Credit now living in *Gloucester*; and I am under no doubt but my Lord Bishop of *Gloucester* that now is, will acknowledg that those Persons have related this Matter to him, as I have now told it. And I do as certainly know that there is a Person of Quality and clear Reputation, who was Mrs. *Gauden*'s Brother, now living, that will affirm that his Sister did constantly in her Conversation with him, declare that her Husband was the Author of that Book: And the same thing is well known to several of her Relations now in being.

I shall now hasten to an end, when I have related a Story which agrees with the Earl of *Anglesey*'s *Memorandum*, and with Dr. *Gauden*'s telling Dr. *Walker*, (as he asserts) that the Duke of *York* knew that he was the Author of that Book, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable Service. There is now in being a Person of Quality, in whose hearing the late King *James* was highly commending the excellent Language of the present Bishop of *Rochester*'s Book, called, *The Rye-House Conspiracy*. Whereupon this Person took occasion to say, That *his Majesties Father's Book was wrote in an excellent Stile.* To which the King replied, *My Father did not write that Book, it was wrote by Bishop* Gauden. 'Tis very indecent to publish Names without Permission; but I will adventure to say, that the Person I mean, either is at present, or lately was one of the *Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*

I observe that Dr. *Hollingworth* never writes a Pamphlet without *a Postscript:* in that against Dr. *Walker*, he tells an idle Story, 'That Mrs. *Simmonds* acquainted him, 'that being at Dinner *some Years since* at a Citizens House, he, like one of the Fa'ction, and greedy to lessen Monarchy by aspersing King *Charles*, told her, if she 'would confess the Truth, that her Husband made the Book called the King's, *there* 'were *some hundreds of Pounds at her Service:* which *she scorned*, and *told him, She was* 'not *to be bribed by never so much to so great a Lie.*

'Twould be a very seasonable and good Work, to set some body to bribe this prevaricating and forging Doctor to speak Truth. For Mrs. *Simmonds*, who is a conscientious Woman, denies that she told the Doctor that any Body attempted to bribe her to a Lie, or said to her that there were some hundred Pounds, or any Sum at her Service; but she declares she told him, That quickly after the King's Murder, one Mr. *Robinson*, who lived about *Threadneedle-street*, invited her to Dinner, and talk'd with her about her Husband's writing the King's Book, and said, it might be some hundred Pounds in her way, if she would acknowledg the Truth; and that if she would not, she might come into great trouble; and she saith that she never saw him after.

And now after all this wrangling; for Peace sake, and half a Crown to be spent at

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the Pye-Tavern at Aldgate, I will (so far as I am interessed in the Matter) give that diminutive and inconsiderable thing, the *Aldgate* Chaplain, his saying: The Book was, without further debate about it, wrote by King *Charles*, and he Lies that gain-says it. But then I must be allowed to observe, that it begins with Falshood, and ends with Fraud: So that as Dr. *Hollingworth* told him, (*1st Defence*, p. 37.) *If the* Essex *Doctor had any value for the memory of his deceased Friend* Dr. Gauden, *he would certainly have forborn telling it in all places, with a more than usual Confidence, that* Dr. Gauden *was the Author of it*; for he was a learned and grave Divine, and would scorn to gull the Multitude by setting off a deformed Cause with counterfeit Colours; by cloaking detestable Tyranny, with the resplendent Beauty of blessed Piety.

The King begins his Book, saying, That *he called his last Parliament, not more by others Advice, and the Necessity of his Affairs, than by his own Choice and Inclination.* This is to all knowing Men so apparently not true, that a more unlucky Sentence hardly could have come into his Mind. He never lov'd, never fulfilled, never promoted the true End of Parliaments: But having first tried in vain all undue Ways to procure Money; his Army beaten by the Scots, the Lords Petitioning, and the general Voice of the People, almost hissing him and his ill-acted Regality off the Stage, compelled at length both by his own Wants and Fears, upon meer Extremity he summon'd this last Parliament.

And as to what we find in the end of this Book, his *Prayer in the time of Captivity.* Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the All-seeing Deity; so little care of Truth in his Words, or Honour to himself or to his Friends, or sense of his Afflictions, as immediately before his Death to pop into the Hands of that grave Bishop, Doctor *Juxon*, who attended him, as a special Relick of his Saint-like Exercises, a Prayer stollen, word for word, from the Mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a Heathen God, and that not in a serious, but a vain Amatorious Book, Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia*; a Book, how full so ever of Wit, not worthy to be named among Religious Thoughts and Duties: Not to be read at any time without good Caution, much less in time of Trouble and Affliction to be a Christian's Prayer-Book. 'Tis worthy of remark, that he who had acted over us so Tragically, should leave the World at last with such a ridiculous *Exit*, as to bequeath, among his deifying Friends, such a piece of Mockery to be publish'd by them, as must needs cover both his and their Heads with shame and confusion. And sure it was the Hand of *God* that let them fall, and be taken in such a foolish Trap, as hath exposed them to all Derision; if for nothing else, to throw Contempt and Disgrace, in the sight of all Men, upon this his idoliz'd Book, and the whole Rosary of his Prayers.

To conclude, if any Man censures me for using too much tartness in any of my Expressions; let him take notice, that Dr. *Walker* told your Doctor, (*pag.* 9.) That *good Nature and good Manners might be overcome with too much ill Usage, to cause him to be answer'd as he would not, if he accused as he should not.*

Yarmouth, June 10. 1692.

I am, yours,

JOS. WILSON.

Insanis Veritas scandalum est, & cæcis
Doctoribus Caligo quod Lumen est.

Ludlow *no Liar*, &c. *In a Letter to Dr.* Hollingsworth.

THIS common, *Sir*, to such despicable and malicious Brawlers as you are, to rail at those things most, that are most praise-worthy: I should therefore esteem it scandalous to the Glorious Cause and Noble Performances of the most worthy Parliament of *November* 1640, which I have endeavoured to vindicate, to be commended, and account it a praise to be evil spoken of by you: And it would provoke a Man to laughter to behold you betaking your self to Slanders and Calumnies, to see nothing but Dirt and Filth issuing from your Mouth, when you find your Arguments will little avail.

I should not give my self the trouble to animadvert upon your Follies and Frenzies, but that I hear you are swollen with Pride and Conceit to an incredible degree.

I shall therefore shew, that with a great deal of toil you have done just nothing at all; and that you are fallen under a most prodigious degree of Stupidity and Madness, to take so much pains to make your Folly visible to the World, which till now, you, in some measure, have concealed; to be so industrious to heap Disgrace upon your self. What Offence does Heaven punish you for, in making you undertake the Defence of so forlorn and desperate a Cause as that of K. *Charles* the First, and that with so much confidence and indiscretion; and instead of defending it, to betray it by your Ignorance?

It was as truly as ingenuously observed by the Learned Bishop *Burnet*, in his Sermon before the *House of Commons*, Jan. 31. 1688. 'That if one were to make a Panegyrick on Tyranny, he ought to 'turn over all the common Places of Wit, all the Stores of Invention, and the liveliest Figures with which his Fancy would furnish him, to make so odious a thing look but tolerably; and by 'sacrificing Truth to Interest, and varnishing it over with Wit 'and Eloquence, he might shew how gracefully he could plead a very 'ill Cause. And 'tis certain that most Writers use some endeavour to carry on their Discourses by *a Stream of Sense and Reason*; but

you, *Sir*, have done it by *a Course of Reviling and Railing*; and it may be truly said, That *if the dirty and Tinker-like Names, the scurrilous and foul-mouth'd Expressions, the spiteful and false Accusations*, (I gather these Expressions from your Book) were taken out of your Pamphlet, it would appear but a poor and shrunken thing, unpleasing to your self when you look upon it, and of small power to work upon others that read it. You seem rather to bawl and hoot at, than to answer my Letter; and your Book is the best *Common-Place* for *Billingsgate* that I have lately seen: But it is well known, that a *Mountebank* can neither draw, nor keep a Croud about his Stage, without the help of *a witty, or foul-mouth'd Buffoon*. And *the gay Fancy, the cutting Sarcasms*, wherewith your Tract is all-bespatter'd, do adorn and render it highly entertaining to some Persons. And I must confess, that I find some subtilty in your first setting out, for you begin cunningly, and like an old *Cavalier*, you place the *Right Reverend and pious Bishop* Kidder in the Front of the Battel, just as King *Charles* the First did *the Roundheads*, whom he had taken Prisoners at the Battel of *Edghil*; these (as we find the Relation in *Husband's Exact Collections*, pag. 758.) he set pinion'd in the Front of his Men, when he engaged the Parliament-Forces at *Braintford*, to be a Breast-work to receive the Bullets that came from the *Brownists and Anabaptists*, (of such the King affirmed the *Parliament Army* to consist) that *the Cavaliers* might escape them. However, *the good Bishop*, I plainly foresee will come off, as every of them did; *he may be shot through the Clothes, but no way hurt*. For *your Quotations* out of the *Sermons* of this good Man, and of that *great and well-studied Divine Dr.* Sherlock, do only endeavour to aggravate the Iniquity of this Martyr's Murder; whereas there is not one Syllable in either of my *Letters* relating to it. I only endeavoured to evince, That *the King intended to bow or break us, to perswade or force us to Slavery*; and that *the Parliament*, when he was enflamed to take Arms against them, and to put all into a common Combustion, did, in one hand, present their humble Supplications, most earnestly begging to enjoy the English Liberties in Peace; and held in the other hand, *the Sword of just and innocent Defence*, against the Oppression and Violence of the Enemies of the King's true Honour, and of the Kingdom's Peace. And I am yet to learn, that by any Law of God or Nations, this could be judged to be *Rebellion*: And I cannot see but Dr. *Sherlock* is of my Opinion; for in his Sermon upon this last 30*th*

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preached, *viz. Jan.* 30. 1680. ſome of *the Clergy* (I know their Names, but will ſpare them) did in their Pulpits deliver up our Laws and Liberties to the King's Will; and according to their Doctrine, we were to hold all at his Pleaſure; and in the three or four ſucceeding Years, upon that and ſuch-like Occaſions, theſe *Beaute-feux* did raiſe Deſpotick Power to that dangerous height, that *England* became too hot for Dr. *Burnet*, as well as for many other good Men; and he and I might with equal ſafety have returned together. But to put it beyond doubt, what my Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s meaning was, in that Expreſſion, *It were better if we could have* Job's *Wiſh*, &c. which you inſinuate that I wreſt; I ſhall lay before you ſome Expreſſions in that Sermon: you may read, *pag.* 4. theſe words; 'Upon their loving Truth and Peace, thoſe black 'and mournful Days ſhould be converted to Days of Gladneſs. *Pag.* 5. 'It might have been expected, that our 29*th* of *May* ſhould 'have worn out the remembrance of the 30*th* of *January*; and 'now at the end of two and thirty Years, it may be reaſonably 'ask'd, ſhould we ſtill continue to faſt and mourn? *Pag.* 28. '[If 'we come to love the Truth and Peace] to live in Love and Peace 'one with another, then our Days of Faſting ſhall be turned into 'ſolemn and chearful Feaſts: Then ſhould our 29*th* of *May* ſwal-'low up the remembrance of the 30*th* of *January*: Or perhaps, as 'the Prophet foretold, ſuch happy Deliverances ſhould come to the 'Jews, as ſhould make even that out of *Egypt* to be forgotten; ſo 'we might hope for ſuch days, as ſhould outſhine and darken the 'very 29*th* of *May*.—— If we come to love Truth and Peace, then 'ſhall even this Faſt of the 10*th* Month, according to the Jewiſh 'Account (which according to Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, is exactly our '30*th* of *January*) be to us, Joy and Gladneſs.

I can now ſcarce with-hold my ſelf from ſaying, That 'tis moſt evident *the Doctor* at *Aldgate* doth appear to be the Perſon who *would wreſt Biſhop* Burnet's *well-intended Words, to his own malicious Deſign.* A Deſign to keep up Animoſity, Wrath and Feuds in the Kingdom; a Perſon who ſhews himſelf eſtranged from Truth and Peace, in contending to perpetuate the obſervation of this Day. And ſeeing we have happily lived to behold the wonderful Deliverances which my Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury* did not only hope for, but ſeem to foretel: Seeing we have our glorious 5*th* of *November* rendered famous to all ſucceeding Ages, by our late repeated happy and miraculous Deliverance from Popery, and its inſeparable Companion, Tyranny:

Tyranny: Seeing we behold our thrice happy 30th of *April* and 4th of *November*, *the Birth-Days* of thoſe matchleſs Princes, our moſt deſervedly admired and beloved Soveraigns, *King William* and *Queen Mary*, *out-ſhining and darkening* even the 29th of *May*; I would hope, that I may live to ſee the time, when his Lordſhip will make a Motion in Parliament, for the annulling the Law which enjoins the Obſervation of the 30th of *January*; and that, I am ſure, would be highly acceptable to the ſincere *Lovers of Truth and Peace*. But,

I already ſee an Objection againſt it; You (Doctor) ſay, Pag. 2. *An Act of State has appointed this Day to be FOR EVER obſerved, to bewail the Sin of the Murder of the King.* However, I am ſure *my Lord Biſhop of Salisbury* doth well remember, that in Times by-paſt, other Days have been appointed to be obſerved by *Acts of State*, upon ſuch like Occaſions; and one in particular, to declaim againſt *Gowry*'s *deteſtable Conſpiracy*, which is now forgot: His Lordſhip alſo knows, that in *Numb.* 21. when, for the Peoples ſpeaking againſt *God* and *Moſes*, the Lord ſent Fiery Serpents, which deſtroyed many of them. Upon their Confeſſion of their Sin, *Moſes* at their Entreaty prayed for them; and (as it is in the 8th and 9th Verſes) *The Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *Make thee a fiery Serpent, and ſet it upon a Pole; and it ſhall come to paſs, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, ſhall live: And* Moſes *made a Serpent of Braſs, and put it upon a Pole; and it came to paſs, that if a Serpent had bitten any Man, when he beheld the Serpent of Braſs, he lived.* You ſee, Sir, *this was God's own Inſtitution*; and that, I hope, was at leaſt as good as your *Act of State*. Let us ſee now what became of this *brazen Serpent*; 2 *Kings* 18. *The good King* Hezekiah, (and there were very few good ones in thoſe days) *who did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord, broke in pieces the brazen Serpent that* Moſes *had made* [*for unto thoſe days the Children of* Iſrael *did burn Incenſe to it*] *and he called it*, Nehuſhtan. And that God highly approved this Act of this *glorious Reformer*, is evident from the very next Verſe, which records, that *after him was none like him among all the Kings of* Judah, *nor any that were before him.*

And now, Sir, to diſmiſs this *Black-Day*; allow me to obſerve, that there is not one Syllable in either of my *Letters*, reflecting on *the Act of State*, which ordained the Obſervation of the 30th of *January*; but I term it *a Madding-Day, becauſe our Paraſitical Court-Prieſts would not keep the Peace, but on that Day did ſet the Nation on Mad-*

Madding, by infusing Principles of Slavery into her Free-born People.

(*Page* 7.) You pick a Quarrel with me about my *Epistle Dedicatory*, and upbraid me for courting *the Populace*, and Dedicating to *the sincere Lovers of Old*-England, *in* Aldgate-*Parish*; and say, *Sure the King and Queen, or else the Lords of the Council, might have been made the Patrons of a Work that pretends to what* Ludlow's *doth.* But, whatever you think of your self, or the World of you, methinks 'twas something sawcy, even in you, to prefix *their Majesties Sacred Names* to so silly a Book, as was your *first Defence*; and 'tis as arrogant, to entitle, *the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Arch-bishops and Bishops, the Nobility, Gentry, &c.* to this *Second*; and to begin as if seated on the Throne, *MY LORDS and GENTLEMEN.* And it seems most impudent, to tell them, that *upon the Reputation or Dishonour of* King Charles *the First, and the Principles which maintain the one, or those that propagate the other,* (as much as if you had said, *upon my Scriblings*) *depend the Being and Well-being of our present Church and State; and consequently the Life and Preservation of our present King and Queen.* But, whatever you may do, 'tis not for the mean Shrubs of the Laity, to soar so high as you presume; and I took mine to be a modest and inoffensive Dedication, and do yet think it ought to be esteemed such, though you snarl, and in your gay or angry Humour, make Distinctions, if not a Schism, and that in your own Parish; and very prodigally throw out to *Ludlow* a good number of your old Benefactors, because they do not believe that they were the only good Men, who took part with the King against the Parliament; who, you say, *only did their Duties in standing by their Prince according to the Laws of the Land, and the Oaths they had taken.* Now, if this be not an inconsiderate and weak Way of arguing, why did not you and your Brethren do your Duty; and (as the *Jacobites* query) stand by King *James*, to whom you were sworn? And as to your *Old Englishmen*, whom you cull out and set by for your self, under the Notion of *Lovers of the Government, by King, Lords, and Commons*; I doubt not but there are of your Acquaintance, a great many Pretenders thereto; and yet, if a Man could stand behind the Hangings, at your *Club at the Pye Tavern*, he might hear many of 'em keck at the Healths of *King William and Queen Mary*; and yet be the first who will propose and urge the drinking the King's Health: which every Boy understands, is, in their meaning, *King James's.*

To

To proceed, *Page* 9. you tell me, that *I begin my Epiſtle with a prophane piece of Wit; namely, THE CHURCH, THE CLERGY; but the beſt of it is but borrowed.* Now I hope we of the *Laity*, may without committing the Sin of Sacrilege, borrow and lend this Commodity amongſt our ſelves; and were all Clergy-Men as dull as your ſelf, Doctor, 'twould be as great a Sin to borrow of them, as to rob a Spittle: *The piece of Wit* which you here term *prophane, was only a ſeaſonable Exhortation to you, to ſhew a little regard to Senſe, Truth and Chriſtianity*, in your future Writings; and this your laſt Book demonſtrates, that of all the Scriblers of the Age, you ought to have attended to this Caution. But *this was prophane Wit:* ay, no doubt of it; *there's no Salvation, can there be any Wit out of the Church?* Wit is ever prophan'd, ſay theſe Borderers upon it, if any Man touches it but themſelves. However, I will adventure to borrow again, from my Old *Lay-Friend*, the moſt ingenious Mr. *Andrew Marvell.* "Albeit (ſaith he) Wit be not inconſiſtent and incompatible with a Clergy-Man; yet neither is it inſeparable from them: So that it is of concernment to my Lords "the Biſhops, henceforward to repreſs thoſe of 'em who have no "Wit, from Writing; and to take care that even thoſe that have "it, do husband it better, as not knowing to what Exigency they "may be reduced.

You ſay, *Pag.* 10. *I ſhall betake my ſelf, with all the brevity I can, to conſider your various Charges, you ſo impudently draw up againſt the King and Queen's Grand-Father, both in your Epiſtle and in your Book it ſelf.* And *Pag.* 11. you fall thus to work, *In your Epiſtle you tell us of a Letter which the Prince wrote to the Pope, which from the beginning to the end ſavours of Popery; and you mention your Particulars to prove it.*

Firſt, You tell us, that he profeſſes nothing could affect him ſo much, as an Alliance with a Prince that had the ſame apprehenſions of true Religion with himſelf. You are in the right, I did ſay ſo; and if I cannot make it out, you deſervedly ſtile me *a foul-mouth'd, ſcandalous and lewd Miſcreant:* And a Man would think that you ſhould not doubt your having caught me, when you beſpeak me in theſe confident Words; *For God's ſake, Sir, read over the Letter again, and tell me where there is ſuch a word, or any thing like it; I have the Letter now before me, as it is in* Ruſhworth, *and I aſſure you, upon reading it again and again, I find nothing like it; and I hope I am not ſo dull, but I underſtand common Senſe; and if it was not for the unmannerlineſs*

of

of the Expreſſion, I would, I am juſtly provoked to ſay, leave your L——,

I muſt confeſs, *Sir*, this your Expoſtulation ſtruck me with no ſmall aſtoniſhment, and your bold and confident Aſſertion would, if poſſible, have made me ready to ſuſpect my ſelf (as you repreſent me) for one of the *vileſt Impoſtors* that ever appeared in the World; for I never doubted but your *Mother* inſtructed you in the reading of *Engliſh*; and he who hath attained thereto, ſhould not miſtake in ſuch a caſe as this. But,

Upon my ſecond reading you; I obſerved, that you ſay, *I have the Letter now before me.* *AS IT IS IN* RUSHWORTH; this raiſed a Suſpicion in me, that you were conſcious that it was elſewhere to be found; why elſe ſhould you ſay, *AS IT IS IN* RUSHWORTH? Turning to *Ruſhworth*, which you were poring upon when you wrote your Defence, I was confirmed in my Opinion; for in the Margin to that Letter, in *Pag.* 82. I read, and you will ſee when you put on Impartial Spectacles, this honeſt Intimation, *There is another Copy of the Prince's Letter to the Pope, publiſhed by ſeveral Hands, ſomewhat different from this.* Well, though you affirm that you find nothing like what I charge; I can ſee, (as you preſently ſhall) even in *Ruſhworth*, ſeveral Things as like it, as I have found a *Doctor* to be like a *Dunce*.

Indeed this Letter to the Pope is not found in Dr. *Gauden's Famous Book called, Eicon Baſilice*, nor in *the Works of King Charles*, neither is it in *Pembrook's Arcadia*, in *Heylin*, or in *Nalſon:* But you, good Doctor, may ſee it in a Book which you have in your Library, for you quote it in your 13th Page; 'tis entituled, *Cabala, Myſteries of State* (*in Quarto*) *Pag.* 214. The *Royal Words* there, which you could not, or rather would not find, are theſe; 'I ſhall never 'be ſo extreamly affectionate to any thing in the World, as to en-'deavour Alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame apprehenſion 'of the true Religion with my ſelf. The ſame thing is expreſſed by Mr. *Ruſhworth*, in theſe Words; 'Your Holineſs's Conjecture 'of our Deſire to contract an Alliance and Marriage with a Catho-'lick Family and Princeſs, is agreeable both to your Wiſdom and 'Charity; for we would never deſire ſo vehemently to be joined 'in a ſtrict and indiſſoluble Bond with any Mortal whatſoever, 'whoſe Religion we hated.

You proceed in the Examination, or rather, as you affirm, Detection of *Ludlow's Lying*, in the Particulars excerpted from the *King's Letter* to the *Pope*.

Secondly,

2*dly*, Quoth you, *What, Sir, you ſay, That he calls Popery the Catholick, Apoſtolick, Roman Religion; all others, Novelty and Faction? In what part of the Letter find you this? Sir, I tell you 'tis falſe, there is not one Syllable of this nature throughout the whole; and I challenge the whole World of Malice to ſhew me any thing like it in the Letter: And now again, Sir, who ought to leave their L——?* Why, *Sir*, to deal honeſtly with you, I did ſay as you charge me; but I muſt alſo tell you, that I ſee 'tis not falſe; for towards the end of the Letter, I find theſe Syllables; 'I entreat your 'Holineſs to believe, that I have been always very far from 'encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partiſan of any Faction, a-'gainſt the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion. And in anſwer to your Queſtion, Who ought to leave their L——? I ſay, they ſhould who are convicted thereof. Now go on to act your part.

3*dly*, You ſay, *That he proteſted, he did not eſteem it a matter of greater Honour to be deſcended from great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety, who had ſo often expoſed their Eſtates and Lives in the exaltation of the Holy Croſs: And pray where is the Fault in this? I hope any Man that knows what the Holy Croſs means in its proper ſenſe, which is nothing elſe but the Chriſtian Religion, purchaſed upon the Croſs by the Blood of Jeſus, will ſay, that this Proteſtation is ſo far from blackning this great Prince, that it redounds to his Credit and Honour.* Theſe are your Words, are they not, Doctor?

This Paſſage is indeed a little diverting: *Ludlow, I obſerve, is no Lyar here.* You admit this Paſſage to be in the Letter; and imagining you can juſtify it, do not anſwer this, with *thou lyeſt*, for that, *in your Canonical way of Arguing*, appertains only to things unanſwerable. But now, upon reading the Letter, it will ſeem to ſome as *though I had plaid the Wag in this Point*, and laid *a Trap* for you, as ſome Body did for me, who gave me to underſtand that *you were once a Presbyterian*, with which you make your ſelf very merry, as I ſee *pag.* 50. For if you will pleaſe to look into *the King's Letter*, 'tis there *HOLY CHAIR*, though indeed it is *Holy Croſs* in mine; and I am ſure, *ſuch a Proteſtation to expoſe Eſtate and Life in the exaltation of the Holy Chair, doth not redound to the Honour of a Proteſtant King*; for we all know that *the Holy Chair*, (mean *the Croſs* what it will) in its plain proper ſenſe, *means nothing but down-right Popery.* But you, *Doctor*, know a ready way

to bring your ſelf off with Honour; and if I had not put a Trick upon you, in writing *Croſs* for *Chair*, your Anſwer would have run thus; *For God's ſake, Sir, read over the Letter again, and tell me where there is any Proteſtation about imitating the Zeal of his Anceſtor's Piety, in expoſing his Eſtate and Life in the Exaltation of the Holy Chair, or any thing like it: I am not ſo dull, but I underſtand common Senſe; and this indeed (had it been in the Letter) ſavours of Popery, and would have blackned this great Prince; but you Bold-face are paſt all manner of Shame; and a Man would think you are poſſeſſed, for there is not one word like this in the Letter; and I am juſtly provok'd to ſay, Leave your L——.*

Your next Cavil runs thus, (*pag.* 12.) *You ſay that he ſolemnly engaged to the Pope to ſpare nothing in the World, even to the hazarding his Life and Eſtate, to ſettle a thing ſo pleaſing to God, as Unity with* Rome. *Surely, Sir, you are paſt all manner of ſhame; and a Man would think you were poſſeſſed, for there is not one word of this in the Letter; and none but a Perſon who cares not what Falſities he obtrudes upon the World, in order to deceive the ſilly and credulous part of Mankind* [THE LAITY] *would have ſo boldly printed ſuch a notorious Falſhood as this is; and who ought to leave his L——, Sir?*

Why now, *Doctor*, you are in the right again, and put down my very Words; and as ſure as you do ſo, ſo ſure 'tis, that I charge nothing but the Truth: And to ſhew you that *the King's Letter* hath many of the Words, I do here tranſcribe them; 'I 'will *(ſaith the King)* imploy my ſelf, for the time to come, to 'have but one Religion, and one Faith.——Having reſolved in 'my ſelf to ſpare nothing in the World, and to ſuffer all manner 'of Diſcommodities, even to the hazarding of my Eſtate and 'Life, for a Thing ſo pleaſing to God. And who now ought to leave *his Lying*, let the World judg.

Having thus, *Sir*, offered what occurs for the right placing the before-charged Lies, allow me to make a Parallel-obſervation upon you. You inſert into your Title Page this Expreſſion; *Let the lying Lips be put to ſilence; which cruelly, diſdainfully and deſpitefully ſpeak againſt the Righteous*, Pſal. 31. Now at the rate of your talking, I might well ſay, *For God's ſake turn to your Bible again, and tell me where you find theſe words.* The Text which I find in my Bible, *Pſal.* 31. 18. runs thus; *Let the lying Lips be put to ſilence; which ſpeak grievous things, proudly and contemptuouſly againſt the Righteous.* But then you will reply, This is the wonted Cuſtom

of

of your Party; theſe *Presbyterians* have their conſtant recourſe to the *Bible*, to oppoſe the *Liturgy*; but *we Laudean Church-men* never cite *the Bible*, when we can make *the Common-Prayer* to ſerve the turn; and *the peſtilent Letter-writter* muſt know, that I took my Quotation out of *the Pſalter*, not *Pſalms*; and there in the 31*ſt* and 20*th* Verſe, (tho it be the 18*th* in the Bible) are the very words which I put down. 'Tis true, *Sir*, I do find it thus; but how had I been intrapp'd, if I had never ſeen, or had not had *the Common-Prayer Book* by me, and found that you had an Authentick Author for what you put down? What a Neſt of *Eccleſiaſtical Waſps* ſhould I have brought about my Ears, had I ſaid, *Leave your L——, 'tis falſe, 'tis not ſo in my Bible?* And, pray, why may not I, (there being neither Statute nor Canon-Law prohibiting it) take the liberty to quote *the Bible* and *Cabala*, when I quarrel not you for reading *the Common-Prayer Book* and *Ruſhworth?*

To return to what you were upon; the laſt thing you ſaid, was, *And who ought to leave his Lying?* You then ſay, (*pag.* 12.) *And as for his* [the King's] *Reply to the Pope's Nuncio, which you mention; after theſe Falſehoods, pray tell me in what Authentick Author I may find it? for I aſſure you, you have put ſo many falſe things together before, that you have ſo much loſt your Credit with me, that I will believe nothing of your bare Aſſertion; and I do not doubt but every body that reads both, will be of my mind.*

Your Concluſion here, *Sir*, looks ſomething fair, you ſeem content that every body ſhould read both, and ſpeak as he finds. I think they ought to do it; and I addreſs you, in all humility, to be ſo ingenuous, as to get Allowance that the Preſs may be open to both Sides for what ſhall be hereafter publiſhed in this Controverſy; for 'tis unreaſonable that you ſhould rail for what you idely call the *Church of England*, without controul, and under the publick Licence and Protection; and 'tis not only inconvenient to print at *Amſterdam*, but in regard there are ſo many *Tories* and *Jacobites* employed in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, 'tis no ſmall Riſque that every Man runs, who would bring over any thing which is wrote for the Service of *Old-England*, I mean, the Government of *England*, by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, with Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament; and that you agree to be *Old-England* indeed. But I have too long digreſs'd.

You were telling me, that I have ſo much loſt my Credit with you, that you will believe nothing of my bare Aſſertion. Upon this you muſt allow me to ſay, that you are laid ſo flat by the Reverend and pious Dr. *Walker*, in relation to the idle Story of Sir *John Brattle*, about Dr. *Gauden*'s Book, commonly called *the King*'s, (and which they ſay Sir *John* doth deny) and you have put down ſo many things in your Defence of the Martyr, which are incredible, that your Credit is ſo much impaired with me, that I cannot believe every thing you aſſert: I therefore deſire, that for the future you would give your Authorities (as I ſhall) for what you write, ſo that our Readers may know how to make a true Judgment of Things: And I muſt tell you, that you being deficient in this Point, in your *Firſt Defence of King* Charles, I rather play'd than argued with you in my former Letter. But I will now tell you, that I had the *King's Reply to the Nuncio*, upon his delivering the *Pope's Letter* to him, from *Cabala*, *Myſteries of State*, pag. 214. where you may read it in theſe words.

'I kiſs his Holineſs Feet, for the Favour and Honour he doth 'me; ſo much the more eſteemed, by how much the leſs deſer-'ved of me hitherto; and his Holineſs ſhall ſee what I do here-'after. [And ſo did *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the whole World; his Biſhops and Chaplains preſſed Popiſh Innovations, and preached Doctrines of groſs Popery.] 'And I think my Father 'will do the like; ſo that his Holineſs ſhall not repent him of what 'he hath done.

Now, *Sir*, *Cabala* is a Book of clear Credit, and not to be gain-ſay'd by you, for you unluckily quote the ſame Book in the very ſame Paragraph, wherein you raiſe your Huy and Cry after my *Authentick Author*.

And now, for the further illuſtration of the Matters which I have too long dwelt upon, I ſhall here tranſcribe, not only that Letter we have been talking of, but that of the *Pope*'s to the *King*, which he anſwered in ſo highly obliging terms; and for your better Satisfaction, you may compare them with *Cabala*, p. 212, *&c.*

Pope

Pope Gregory *the* 15th's *Letter to the Prince of* Wales; *afterwards K.* Charles *the First.*

Moſt Noble Prince, Health and Light of Divine Grace, &c.

GReat *Britain* abounding with worthy Men, and fertile Virtues, ſo that the whole Earth is full of the Glory of her Renown, induceth many times *the Thoughts of the great Shepherd* to the conſideration of her Praiſes. In regard, that preſently in the Infancy of his Church, the King of Kings vouchſafed to chooſe her with ſo great Affection for his Inheritance, that almoſt it ſeems there entred into her at the ſame time the Eagles of the *Roman* Standard, and the Enſigns of the Croſs. And not few of her Kings indoctrinated in the true Knowledg of Salvation, gave example of Chriſtian Piety to other Nations, and after-Ages, *preferring the Croſs to the Scepter*, and the Defence of Religion to the Deſire of Command. So that *meriting Heaven thereby* (the Crown of eternal Bliſs) they obtained likewiſe upon Earth the Luſtre, and glorious Ornaments of Sanctity. But *in this time of the* Britanick *Church, how much is the caſe altered?* yet we ſee that to this day the *Engliſh Court is fenced and guarded with moral Virtues*, which were ſufficient Motives to *induce us to love this Nation*, it being ſome Ornament to the Chriſtian Name, *if it were likewiſe a Defence and Sanctuary of Catholick Virtues.*

Wherefore the more the Glory of your moſt Serene Father, and the Property of *your natural Diſpoſition delighteth us*, the more ardently *we deſire, that the Gates of Heaven ſhould be opened unto you*, and *that you ſhould purchaſe the univerſal Love of the Church.* For whereas that Biſhop, *Gregory* the Great of moſt pious Memory, introduced amongſt the Engliſh People, and taught their Kings the Goſpel, and *a Reverence to the Apoſtolical Authority*; We much inferiour to him in Virtue and Sanctity, as equal in Name, and height of Dignity, it is reaſon we ſhould follow his moſt holy Steps, and *procure the Salvation of thoſe Kingdoms*, eſpecially (moſt Serene Prince) *there being great hopes offered to us at this time of ſome ſucceſsful Iſſue of your Determination.*

Where-

Wherefore you having come to *Spain* and the Court of the Catholick King, with desire to match with the House of *Austria*, it seemed good to us most affectionately to commend this your Intent, and to give clear testimony, that at this time *your Person is the most principal Care that our Church hath.* For *seeing you pretend to match with a Catholick Damosel, it may easily be presumed, that the antient Seed of Christian Piety, which so happily flourished in the Minds of* British *Kings, may by God's Grace, reverberate in your Breast.* For *it is not probable, that he, that desires such a Wife, should abhor the Catholick Religion, and rejoice at the overthrow of the holy* Roman *Church.* To which purpose, we have caused continual Prayers to be made, and most vigilant Orisons to the Father of Lights for you (fair Flower of the Christian World, and only Hope of Great *Britain*) that he would bring you to the Possession of that most noble Inheritance, which your Ancestors got you by the Defence of the Apostolick Authority, and *Destruction of Monsters of Heresies.* Call to memory the times of old; ask your Fore-fathers, and *they will shew you what way leads to Heaven*, and perceiving what Path mortal Princes pass to the heavenly Kingdom, behold the Gates of Heaven open. Those most holy Kings of *England*, which parting from *Rome* accompanied with Angels, *most piously reverenced* the Lord of Lords, and *the Prince of the Apostles* in his Chair. Their Works and Examples are Mouths wherewith God speaks, and warneth you, that *you should imitate their Customs, in whose Kingdoms you succeed.*

Puritans.

Can you suffer that they be called Hereticks, and condemned for wicked Men, when the Faith of the Church testifieth, that they reign with Christ in Heaven, and are exalted above all the Princes of the Earth, and that *they at this time reached you their hands* from that most blessed Country, *and brought you safely to the Court of the Catholick King*, and *desire to turn you to the Womb of the* Roman *Church*; wherein praying most humbly with most unspeakable Groans to the God of Mercy for your Salvation, to reach you the Arms of Apostolical Charity *to embrace most lovingly your Children, so often desired*, and to point out as it were with a Finger the blessed Hopes of Heaven. And truly *you could do no Act of greater Comfort to all Nations of Christendom, than to return the Possession of those most noble Isles to the Prince of the Apostles*, whose Authority for so many Ages, was held in *England* for the defence of the

These Desires of the Pope, were seconded with continual Endeavours of Swarms of Jesuits *and* Priests *permitted to reside amongst us.*

the Kingdom, and divine Oracle, *which will not be uneasy to do if you open your Breast* (upon which depends the Prosperity of those Kingdoms) *to God, who is knocking.* And we have so great desire of the Honour and Exaltation of your Royal Name, that *we wish, that you should be called* through the whole World (together with your most Serene Father, *the Freer of Great* Britain, *and Restorer of her antient Religion.* Whereof *we will not lose all hopes,* putting them in mind in whose hands the Hearts of Kings lie, and he that rules all Nations of the World, by whose Grace * *we will with all possible Diligence, labour to effect it.* And you cannot choose but acknowledg in these Letters the Care of our Apostolical Charity to procure your Happiness, which it will never repent us to have written, if the Reading thereof shall at leastwise *stir some Sparks of Catholick Religion in the Heart of so great a Prince,* who we desire may enjoy Eternal Comforts, and flourish with the Glory of all Virtues.

The Pope will know that his Design of destroying the Northern Heresy, had been considerably advanced in K. James's *time.*

* *The* Roman *Strumpet is very industrious to corrupt the Earth with her Fornications,* Rev. 19. 2.

Given in *Rome* in the Palace of St. *Peter* the 20*th* of *April,* 1623. In the third of our *Pontificado.*

The Prince of Wales *his Reply to the* Pope's *Letter.*

Most Holy Father,

I Received the Dispatch from your Holiness with great Content, and with that Respect which the Piety and Care wherewith your Holiness writes, doth require: It was an unspeakable Pleasure to me to read the generous Exploits of the Kings my Predecessors, in whose Memory, Posterity hath not given those Praises and Elogies of Honour as were due to them: I do believe that your Holiness hath set their Examples before my Eyes, to the end I might imitate them in all my Actions, for in truth they have often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair; and the Courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the

Care

Care and Thought which I have, to the end that the Peace and Intelligence which hath hitherto been wanting in Chriſtendom, might be bound with a true and ſtronge Concord: For * as the common Enemy of the Peace watcheth always to put Hatred and Diſſention amongſt Chriſtian Princes; ſo I believe that the Glory of God requires that we ſhould endeavour to unite them: And I do not eſteem it a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety. In which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and Will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy Intentions of his Catholick Majeſty to give a happy Concurrence to ſo laudable a Deſign: for it grieves him exceedingly to ſee the great Evils that grow from the Diviſion of Chriſtian Princes, which the Wiſdom of your Holineſs foreſaw, * when it judged the Marriage which you pleaſed to deſign between the Infanta of *Spain* and my ſelf, to be neceſſary to procure ſo great a Good; for 'tis very certain, that I ſhall never be ſo extreamly affectionate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame Apprehenſion of the true Religion with my ſelf: Therefore I intreat your Holineſs to believe, that I have been always very far from Novelties, or to be a Partiſan of any Faction againſt the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have ſought all Occaſions to take away the Suſpicion that might reſt upon me, and that I will imploy my ſelf for the time to come, to have but one Religion and one Faith, ſeeing that we all believe in one Jeſus Chriſt. Having reſolved in my ſelf, to ſpare nothing that I have in the World, and to ſuffer all manner of Diſcommodities, even to the hazarding of my Eſtate and Life, for a thing ſo pleaſing unto God: It reſts only that I thank your Holineſs for the Permiſſion you have been pleaſed to afford me, and I pray God to give you a bleſſed Health and his Glory, after ſo much pains which your Holineſs takes in his Church.

* *The Intereſts of Popery and Tyranny were always found very well to agree, and this Prince was eaſily perſuaded that his Crown, and the* Pope's *Chair had common Friends and common Enemies.*

* *The* Pope *prepared a ſtrange Wife for him, which according to Scripture-truth, is a dangerous Preparative for a ſtrange God*; ſurely they will turn away your Heart after their Gods, 1 *King.* 11. 2.

This

This Letter to the *Pope* was presently printed in *Spain*, in several Languages. And I can shew it you in many Authors of Credit; it is found recorded by *Andrew de Chesne*, Chronographer to the French King, in his History of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Lib. 22. The French *Mercury* (a never-controlled Author) hath it also, as I here give it you, in *Tom.* 9. p. 509, 510. printed *Anno* 1623. Mr. *James Howel*, an Attendant upon the King in the Spanish Expedition, (and who ever remained firm to him, being imprison'd by the Parliament for a Malignant in the time of the War) doth also point at it in his *Dodonas Grove*, or *Vocal Forest*, printed *Anno* 1640. he saith there, *pag.* 128. 'That the Pope 'was a great Friend to the intended Alliance with *Spain*, and wrote 'to the Prince. This Letter is also printed in *Pryn*'s *Popish Royal Favorite*, p. 40. in French, and likewise in English, agreeing exactly with the Copy in *Cabala*: And Mr. *Pryn* saith, 'That he 'hath seen another Copy of this Letter long since in English, be-'ing somewhat different from the French in some Expressions, 'though not in Substance, and perchance he wrote two of this Na-'ture; but it appears that such Letters really passed between the 'King and the Pope, by divers ancient printed Copies of them in 'sundry Languages. Thus speaks Mr. *Pryn* himself, and you will credit him, because you tell me he was a Convert, and rectified many of his Errors; yet he never retracted or acknowledged this to be one.

And now, *Sir*, to expostulate this Matter with you; Is it credible, that a Man of common Honesty, nay a *D. D.* who stiles himself *their Majesties Chaplain*, and dedicates to them, that a pretender to Learning and good Manners, who had notice from *Rushworth*, that there was another Copy of the King's Letter to the Pope, published by several Hands, different from his; that he, who by his own Confession hath *Cabala*, and uses it to serve his Purpose, should treat a Person who writes Truth out of the same Author, with the unbecoming Expression, and that three times over in one Leaf, of *Leave your L*——; that such a Man as you, in such a Case as this, should say, *'Tis false, you are past all manner of shame, and one would think that you are possessed?* But let us see what follows, my *honest Tell-troth.*

Pag. 14. you fall upon Dr. *Leighton*'s Case, and calls the most barbarous and diabolical Sentence, which Bishop *Laud* procured to be pronounced, and most cruelly executed upon him, *his Punish-*

ment;

ment; and ſay, That *you are ſomething of the mind that he met with hard Fate, and ſuch, as had you been one of his Judges,* [*with your preſent ſenſe of things*] *you ſhould not have conſented to.* So that it ſeems you cannot be confident but you might have been as wicked as *Laud* himſelf. And by the diſcovery which you indiſcreetly make of your ſelf a little after, (of which more preſently) I have reaſon to ſuſpect that you would have made the worſt Biſhop of the two; and then I am ſure you had been a very wicked Biſhop indeed. You ſay, *Let me tell you, Sir, Dr.* Leighton *was a great Tranſgreſſor, and deſerved a ſevere Puniſhment.*——*Muſt it be Perſecution, to call ſuch a foul-mouth'd Perſon to an Account, and to puniſh him?* But you, of all Men, Dr. *Brazen-face,* ought to be very tender of juſtifying the ſevere puniſhment of a *foul Mouth,* leſt a Jury of your Neighbours (ſhould you be called to an account, if for nothing more than your malicious ſlandering of that Reverend Divine Dr. *Walker*) ſhould find you to be a *foul-mouth'd Perſon*; for in ſuch a caſe [according to your preſent ſenſe of things] I am ſomething of the mind, you would eſteem it hard Fate, *to have your Ears cut, your Noſe ſlit; to be branded in the Face, ſtand in the Pillory, pay ten thouſand Pounds Fine, and be perpetually impriſon'd.*

You proceed next (*pag.* 15.) ſaying, *I have look'd into the Caſe of* Pryn, Burton, *and* Baſtwick.——[*I do, upon a full conſideration of the whole, wiſh from my Heart their Puniſhment had been ſome other way*]; *I do not think that the way of puniſhing theſe Perſons was at all Politick or Prudent,* [*becauſe not for the Intereſt, as things then ſtood, either of the King or the Church*]. *And if Biſhop* Laud *had kept in his Study at that time, and not appeared at all, either to hear the Trial, or aſſiſt in the Sentence, it had been better for him, and* [*thoſe Deſigns of Uniformity he had ſo much ſet his Heart upon.*]

Whoever weighs this laſt Paragraph, muſt agree in what I but now hinted, that *you, even you Doctor, would have been a worſe Biſhop than* Laud. You well approve the puniſhing of theſe three Perſons; but *the way was not Politick or Prudent,* becauſe not for the Intereſt [*as things then ſtood*] of King or Church. Let you (ſubtil *Doctor*) alone for Miſchief, though you have a very unhappy Talent at writing in Defence thereof; you would have done it as effectually, but in a more cunning manner; you would have been found *as Arch* and Crafty, but a more cloſe Youth; like the Perſecutors in Ancient Times, whoſe Practices are moſt ingenuouſly expreſs'd

expreſs'd by Mr. *Marvel* in theſe words; 'In Perſecution, the 'Clergy as yet, wiſely interpoſed the Magiſtrate betwixt them-'ſelves and the People, not caring, ſo their End were attained, how 'odious they render'd him: And you may obſerve, that for the 'moſt part hitherto, they ſtood crouching, and ſhot either over 'the Emperor's Back, or under his Belly: But in proceſs of Time 'they became bolder and open-fac'd, and perſecuted before the 'Sun at Mid-day; Biſhops grew worſe, but Biſhopricks every day 'better and better.

You, *Politick Doctor*, in your great Wiſdom, would have taken a more prudent courſe than Biſhop *Laud*, you would, in your Study, have laid ſuch a Scheme as this; *A Jefferies* or *a Wright* ſhould have been made *Lord Chief Juſtice*; a *Graham* and a *Burton* ſhould have pack'd *a Jury of* London *Tories*, to give ſuch a Verdict as they ſhould have directed: Hereby theſe Gentlemen ſhould have been *Whip'd*, *Pilloried*, *Stigmatized*, and what elſe Biſhop *Hollingworth* pleas'd, and all by the Hands of *the Laity*, and that *according to Law*; the *Biſhop*, *good Man*, neither aſſiſting *at Trial*, nor *Sentence*, but cloſe at his Book, *as innocent as a wild Boar*, *and as harmleſs as a Tyger*.

Well, *it had been better for* Laud, *and thoſe Deſigns of Uniformity which he had ſo much ſet his Heart upon.*

And pray, tell me *Sir*, in all Love, what Uniformity was this which thus run in *Laud*'s Head, and which you ſeem ſo much to approve? It muſt certainly be the honeſt Deſign of coming to *a due Temper*, to *a uniting of Proteſtants:* No, no, nothing like it. Mr. *Whitlock* was a good Man; and you ſay, *pag.* 14. That *you do not in the leaſt queſtion the Truth of what he writes.* Take then his Account of this *Monſter*, rather than *Martyr*, and you will ſee which way his Head turn'd. *Whitl. Mem.* pag. 97. 'In Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s 'Diary, under his Hand, (produced in Evidence againſt him at his Trial) 'are Paſſages of his being offered to be made a Car-'dinal; which he ſaid, that he could not ſuffer till *Rome* were 'other than it is.

[He wickedly and traiterouſly deſign'd, that upon the Pope's yielding, in ſome few Points, as the *Common Prayers* to be continued in Engliſh, and ſuch other Trifles, he would deliver over the poſſeſſion of *theſe moſt noble Iſles to the Prince of the Apoſtles.*]

Whitl. pag. 92. It was proved againſt him, that he ſhould ſay, 'The Pope was not Antichriſt, but the Head of the Church; and 'that the Proteſtant Religion, and Romiſh Religion were all one; 'and if the one was falſe, ſo was the other.

'He chid Dr. *Hall* (as in *Whitlock*, p. 91.) for giving the Holy 'Father the Epithets of Antichriſtian, *&c.* He held the Pope to 'be Metropolitan Biſhop of the World.

'He furniſhed the King's Chappel, (they are Mr. *Whitlock*'s own words, *p.* 85.) 'that Seminary Prieſts would come thither for their 'Devotion and Adoration; and ſome of them were inſtanc'd, '*(this was at his Trial ſtill)* who ſaid, they knew no difference be-'tween their Churches and this Chappel, and ſome other of our 'Churches, as they were ordered.

To this I ſhall ſubjoin a few Words out of *Ruſhworth*'s Third *Collection*, Vol. 2. pag. 818. 'Arch-Biſhop *Laud* endeavoured to 'advance the Power of the Council-Table, the Canons of the 'Church, and the King's Prerogative, above the Laws of the 'Land; and ſaid, that as long as he ſat at the Council-Board, 'they ſhould know, that an Order of that Board ſhould be of 'equal Force with an Act of Parliament. And at another time ſaid, 'That he would cruſh them to pieces that would not yield to 'the King's Power. He ſtiled the Parliament *Puritans*, and com-'mended the *Papiſts* for harmleſs and peaceable Subjects. He ſaid, 'That there muſt be a Blow given to the Church, ſuch as had 'not been given, before it could be brought to Conformity.

Was not this a rare *Head* of *the Church of* England? Why may not a Man for once, and not practiſe it, borrow your Words, (dear Doctor) *pag.* 53. and ſay, *I cannot think* Laud *would have talked thus, unleſs he had been acted by ſeven Devils worſe than himſelf, and then I am ſure they muſt be Devils indeed?*

But no more of *Laud* in this place; I return to you, *Mr. Chaplain at Aldgate.* Though you do not commend the doing of the Buſineſs of *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, in *Laud*'s imprudent way, and that for a weighty Reaſon, becauſe *you would have done it better.* You proceed, *pag.* 16. ſaying, *The Juſtice of the Nation ought not to be afraid of accounting with ſuch bold Men, as they ſhew'd themſelves.*——Mr. *Burton* ſpeaking of the Biſhops; inſtead of *Pillars*, calls them *Caterpillers*; inſtead of *Fathers*, *Step-fathers.* O horrid! is this true? Why, this was almoſt as bad as his laying open the *Innovations in Doctrine, Worſhip, and Ceremonies, which had*

had lately crept into the Church, and wiſhing the People to beware of them: which I mention to be charg'd upon him; and I queſtion whether *his Eares*, and 5000 *l.* Fine would have paid the Reckoning, if *Hollingworth* had been in *Laud*'s place.

But, what then would have aton'd for Dr. *Baſtwick*'s *Tranſgreſſion?* He (ſay you) in his Anſwer to the Information againſt him, inſerted theſe words; That *the Prelates are Invaders of the King's Prerogative; Contemners and Deſpiſers of the Holy Scripture; Advancers of Popery and Superſtition, Idolatry and Profaneneſs: Alſo they abuſe the King's Authority, to the Oppreſſion of his Loyal Subjects; and therein exerciſe great Cruelty, Tyranny and Injuſtice; and in Execution of thoſe impious Performances, they ſhew neither Wit, Honeſty nor Temperance; nor are they either Servants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil: being Enemies to God, and of every living Thing that is good:* And concluded, that he the ſaid Dr. *Baſtwick* is ready to maintain theſe things thus put down.

Now, ſeeing that they cut off his *Ears*, for theſe Expreſſions, without bringing the Point to trial; I will put my ſelf in his place, and ſtake mine againſt yours, that I will make good every Syllable in this Charge againſt that *Caterpiller Laud*, and ſome of his Brethren; when I ſee you take it to pieces, and ſay in your Rhetorical Flights, *This is falſe; That's a Lie.* And I will give it under my hand into the Bargain, that I will prove that theſe Biſhops were a Generation of Vipers, which on any terms, would have eaten their way to Preferment, through the Intrails of either Church or State; you may make your beſt on't Doctor.

In your 17*th Page*, you affirm, That *theſe three Men ſuffered for Libelling the Government, and putting Indignities and Affronts upon the then legal Adminiſtrators.* I have ſhown you the heinous Tranſgreſſions of Dr. *Baſtwick* and Mr. *Burton*; but you leave us in the dark as to Mr. *Pryn*'s; therefore pray let this put you in mind, when you write next, to tell the World what thoſe Indignities and Affronts were, for which Mr. *Pryn* ſuffered; becauſe I have been told, 'twas for publiſhing a Book, which Dr. *Buckner*, Chaplain to the *Arch-biſhop* (I do not mean *the Villain Laud*, but that excellent *Pattern for Biſhops*, Dr. *Abbot*) did approve and licenſe to be printed.

Having finiſhed your Vindication of the *Puniſhment* of theſe Perſons, you diſmiſs it thus, pag. 17. And *ſo much by way of Anſwer to that part of your Book, by which you have endeavoured to blacken the*

good

good King's Reign, and to run down the Reputation of Biſhop Laud ; *and to expreſs your Indignation againſt me, for ſaying otherways he was a very good Man.* [I ſee a Man cannot for his Heart prevail upon *this Hare-brain'd Doctor*, to let *Laud* alone ; but whether we will or not, he will go on to murder the Reputation of this his *Martyr :*] You run on thus, (without Fear, Wit or Honeſty) *I ſay ſtill he was a good Man, and have a very good Man to back me, Judg* Whitlock, *a Man of a clear Credit and ſound Judgment ; who, as his Son tells me in his Memoirs ; ſaid of him, that he had too much Fire, but was a juſt and good Man.* [This is to purpoſe, if it hath the neceſſary Ingredient of Truth :] But I obſerve now, that when you have a ſure Second, one upon whom you can depend, you conſtantly quote the *Page* as well as Author ; but you left me here very unkindly, to turn over a large Folio ; to find Judg *Whitlock*'s Character of *Laud* ; and at length I pitch'd upon it in the *Mem. pag.* 32. in theſe very words ; Laud *was more buſy in Temporal Affairs and Matters of State, than his Predeceſſors of late times had been : Judg* Whitlock, *who was anciently and throughly acquainted with him, and his Diſpoſition, would ſay, he was too full of Fire, though a juſt and good Man ; and that his want of Experience in State-Matters, and his too much Zeal for the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would ſet this Nation on fire.* But this you intended to conceal : And now I think that the *Judg* did not only ſpeak like a *very good Man*, but like a *Prophet* ; and I wiſh you much Joy of Mr. *Whitlock*'s Authority ; whom ſome will tell you, you had much better have let alone.

Well ; that I may once for all rid my hands of this troubleſome *Biſhop*, ſuch you make him to this day, I will give you his Character from another very good Man, a Perſon of clear Credit and ſound Judgment, we all know, that is, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* ; 'tis in his *Speech* upon the *Arch-biſhops Impeachment*, in 1641, which you will find printed in the Continuation of *Ruſhworth*'s *Collections*, now publiſhed.

We are (ſaith he) *fallen upon the great Man, the Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury ; *look upon him as he is in his Highneſs, and he is the Sty of all peſtilent Filth, that hath infected the State, and Government of the Church and Common-wealth ; look upon him in his Dependencies, and he is the Man, the only Man that hath raiſed and advanced all thoſe (that together with himſelf) have been the Authors and Cauſers of all the Ruins, Miſeries and Calamities we now groan under.*

Who

Who is it but he only, that brought in the Earl of Strafford, *a fit Inſtrument and Spirit to act and execute all his wicked and bloody Deſigns in theſe Kingdoms?*

Who is it but he only, that brought in Secretary Windebank, *the very Broker and Pander to the Whore of* Babylon?

Who is it but he only, that hath advanc'd Biſhop Manwaring, *the Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, *the Biſhop of* Oxford, *and Biſhop* Wren; *the leaſt of all, but the moſt unclean one?*

Theſe are Men that ſhould have fed Chriſt's Flock, but they are the Wolves that devoured them: It was the Happineſs of our Church, when the Zeal of God's Houſe did eat up the Biſhops; glorious and brave Martyrs, that went to the Stake in the defence of the Proteſtant Religion; but the Zeal of theſe Biſhops, hath been to eat up and perſecute the Church. He hath been and is the common Enemy to all Goodneſs, and good Men. So much for this, *otherways good Man.* What have we next?

You ſay, Pag. 18. *I come now to make ſome Reflections upon your* Scotch *Story, which you have told with ſo much Venom and Partiality, that you have every ways acted like your malicious and ungodly ſelf. ——You begin with a Relation of Biſhop* Laud's (what more of *Laud* ſtill?) *compoſing a Common-Prayer-Book for them; and tell us how the Mutinies and Diſturbances in* Scotland *ſprung from thence, which truly I am very ſorry for.*

'Tis well, we are agreed in this point, that *from the impoſing this Liturgy, the* Scotiſh *Troubles did ariſe*; ſo that hitherto, there's no Ungodlineſs in my Story. But (you proceed) *I am ſure it had been better for them, and* [*the Chriſtian Religion*] *profeſs'd amongſt them, if they had ſubmitted to the Uſage of that Book, and continued it ever ſince.*

This, in truth, *Sir, is ungodly and malicious all over; you are ſure it had been better for the Chriſtian Religion,* &c. Why not *Proteſtant Religion? CHRISTIAN RELIGION* is indeed in its true and genuine Senſe, ſo good an Expreſſion, that a better cannot be found for the only true Religion: but theſe *Laudean Church-men,* the Papiſts in diſguiſe, muſt be narrowly watch'd; for 'tis notoriouſly known, that *they hold the Roman-Church to be a true Church, though we know 'tis idolatrous.* We muſt hold them to the *Shiboleth,* [*PROTESTANT*] when they pretend to tell us what is beſt for the *Chriſtian Religion: Laud* himſelf ſpoke at the rate which *you* (*crafty Turn-Coat*) here do; his *Letters* expreſſed his fear of delay in bringing in the Common-Prayer-Book, *for the great good* (not of the Church of *Scotland,* but) *of the Church.*

My

My *Lord Bishop of Salisbury* may surely be allowed to be a more competent Judg, in this matter, than you: He saith *Pag.* 30. of his *Memoires*; 'The Liturgy had some Alterations from the Eng-'lish, which made it more invidious, and less satisfactory. ——The 'imposing it, really varied from their former Practices and Con-'stitutions. —— *Pag.* 33. The Lords petitioned, complaining against 'the Liturgy, and Book of Canons; offering, under the highest 'Penalties, to prove they contained things both contrary to Reli-'gion and the Laws of the Land. *Pag.* 36. The Earls of *Traquaire* 'and *Roxburgh*, by Letter to the King, advised him to secure the 'People of that which they so much apprehended, the fear of Inno-'vation of Religion; saying, that they found few or none well sa-'tisfied. —— *Pag.* 33. The Earl of *Trequaire* went to Court, and 'gave account that all the Troubles were occasioned by the in-'troducing the Liturgy: with which, scarce a Member of Council '(except Bishops) was well satisfied; neither were all these cordi-'ally for it, for the Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews* from the beginning 'had withstood these Designs; and the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow* 'was worse pleased.

See now what *the Scotish Nation* offered against this *Liturgy*, which you, *Doctor*, are sure, *it had been better for them and the Christian Religion, if they had received and used it*; Their Commissioners in their Charge against *Laud* (exhibited in our Parliament in 1641) say, (*Pag.* 11, &c.) 'This Book inverteth the Order of the Com-'munion in the Book of *England*; of the divers secret Reasons of 'this change, we mention one only: In joining the Spiritual Praise 'and Thanksgiving, which is in the Book of *England*, pertinently 'after the Communion, with the Prayer of Consecration before 'the Communion; and that under the Name of Memorial or Ob-'lation, for no other end, but that the Memorial and Sacrifice of 'Praise, mentioned in it, may be understood according to the Po-'pish Meaning; *Bellar. de Missâ, lib.* 2. *cap.* 21. Not of the Spi-'ritual Sacrifice, but of the Oblation of the Body of the Lord.

'The corporal Presence of Christ's Body, is also to be found 'here; for the words of the Mass-Book, serving to this purpose, 'which are not to be found in the Book of *England*, are taken in 'here; Almighty God is incall'd, that of his Almighty Goodness 'he may vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with his Word and Spi-'rit, these Gifts of Bread and Wine, that they be unto us the 'Body and Blood of Christ. —— *On the other part*, the Expressions

'of

'of the Book of *England*, at the delivery of the Elements; Of 'feeding on Chriſt by Faith, and of eating and drinking in re-'membrance that Chriſt died for thee, are utterly deleted.

Now one would think, that if ſuch a *whiffling Doctor* as you are, were not paſt all ſhame, (as you affirm me to be) it would make you bluſh, (but we may ſooner expect to ſee you burſt) that you, who appeared but now very tender of paſſing a Judgment upon the Actions of *the accurſed Star-Chamber*, ſhould be found ſo pragmatical, ſo arrogant, as to cenſure King *Charles* the Firſt, (who damn'd this very Book by Act of Parliament) and the Kingdom and Church of *Scotland* in this Point; and declare, That *you are ſure it had been better for them, and the Chriſtian Religion, if they had ſubmitted to the Uſage of this Babyloniſh Book, and continued it ever ſince.* But you are ſo inflexible, that there's little hope of reconciling you to that Nation, (I had almoſt ſaid to the *King* and *Queen*) unleſs this *well-approved Liturgy* be ſent down once more and entertained there. For then (you ſay, *pag.* 18.) *the Worſhip of God would be performed with* [*Order and Decency*], *and in a way ſuitable to his Divine Nature and Perfections: And conſequently could not have been nauſeous to the ſoberly, wiſe and ſeriouſly devout part of that Kingdom,* [*as now it is*] *by reaſon of thoſe rude and undigeſted Addreſſes, thoſe ex-tempore and unpremeditated Expoſtulations with God; thoſe bold and ſaucy Applications, that for want of a good Book, or a well-framed Form of Prayer,* [*of their own before-hand, and committed to memory*] *are ſo commonly made uſe of in their Pulpits; too many of the accounts of which we have lately, ſince* the great Turn *in* Scotland, *received from very good Hands, and undeniable Teſtimonies.*

This is, I am ſure, a nauſeating, if not an ungodly and prophane way of Talking: You, poor weak Man as you are, run away with a groſs Miſtake; that becauſe there were Biſhops in *Scotland* till *the great Turn*, (as you term the legal Settlement of that Church by their preſent Majeſties) they had alſo *a Common-Prayer Book*: but believe me, or let it alone, as you pleaſe, they had no ſuch thing, it was deteſted, even by many of their *Epiſcopal Clergy.* I ſhall not pretend to remark upon your moſt unbecoming and malicious Repreſentation of the *praying* of the preſent Miniſters of that Kingdom; but 'tis well known that their *Divines* are of good Ability, and every way well qualified for the diſcharge of the *Miniſterial Function.* And whereas you pretend to recom-

mend a well-framed *Form of Prayer* of their own before-hand, and committed to Memory, for the prevention of rude and undigeſted Addreſſes, bold and ſaucy Applications; I would fain know of you what *Canon* allows a *Miniſter* of the *Church of England* to frame his own Prayer, and to *mutter* out a good part of it, ſo as no body can tell what he ſays: And then to riſe conſtantly in his Voice, when he comes to *the Ox* —— and *the Aſs* ——.

But to talk ſeriouſly of this moſt ſerious Matter; pray ſee what the Devout and Learned *Biſhop of Salisbury* ſays of ſuch *Doctors* as your ſelf, in his Sermon *Jan.* 30. 1680. pag. 9. 'Many weak Per-'ſons, who by the Heat of their Tempers are inclined to enter-'tain Prejudices, hold, that Addreſſing to God in Prayer, and the 'being guided by the inward Motions of Grace, and God's Holy 'Spirit, are but illuſions of Fancy, if not the Contrivances of 'deſigning Men.

Pag. 10. 'Earneſtneſs in Prayer, and depending on the inward 'Aſſiſtances of God's Holy Spirit: How have Men, who know or 'value theſe things little themſelves, taken occaſion to diſparage 'them with much Impudence and Scorn?

Now, *Sir*, upon the whole Matter, I do think it might tend to the Publick Peace, if *my Lord Biſhop of London* would pleaſe to ſuſpend ſuch a dry and inſipid Doctor as you are, from publiſhing even *ex-tempore and unpremeditated Defences*, and to injoin you *a well-framed Form of Defending*, ſo that it may be performed with Order and Decency, and not be expoſed to Contempt and Scorn, by reaſon of any rude and undigeſted *Addreſſes*, bold and ſaucy *Applications* to their moſt Sacred Majeſties, the Moſt Reverend and Right Reverend, the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* For I perſwade my ſelf, that the *Ex-tempore* Rhimes of ſome Antick *Jack-Pudding*, may deſerve Printing better than your empty and non-ſenſical Pamphlets; and that it had been better to have ſet ſome Ballad-ſinger to have bewailed the King's Misfortunes, than ſo ridiculous an Orator as you are found to be, who are ſo inſipid, that there's not the leaſt Spirit in any thing you ſay.

Where are you now, *Sir?* *I, but this Bold face ſays, This Liturgy* [*for* Scotland] *was not only compoſed by Biſhop* Laud, *but ſent by him to the Pope and Cardinals for their Approbation, and this Story I muſt not dare to deny. But with your leave, Mr. Modeſty, I will venture upon that piece of Confidence, as to tell you, I do not believe it, and that becauſe you aſſert it.* Now I do agree that I did ſay ſo; and

I

I am indeed *a Bold-face*, if I have not *good Authority* for what I thus charge upon Arch-Biſhop *Laud*; for no Man's bare Aſſertion may paſs in ſuch a Caſe as this. But there is more in this Matter, than the ſhort-ſighted *Chaplain* at *Aldgate* is aware of.

You may find the Story of *Laud*'s ſending *the Scots Common-Prayer*, to be approved by the Pope and Cardinals (as I told it) in a Book of good Credit, entituled, *A new Survey of the Weſt-Indies*, wrote by a Reverend Divine of the *Church* of *England*, Mr. *Thomas Gage*, Miniſter of *Deal* in *Kent*, 'tis in Page 280, in the *Folio* Impreſſion; He there tells you, 'That being a Friar, he went to 'Rome with Letters of Recommendation to Cardinal *Barbarini*, 'the Pope's Nephew, intituled, *The Protector of England:* That 'coming acquainted with Father *Fitz-Herbert*, Rector of the 'Engliſh Colledg of Jeſuits, he highly praiſed Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, 'and ſaid, That he not long ſince ſent a Common-Prayer Book, '(which he had compoſed for the Church of *Scotland*) to be firſt 'viewed and approved by the Pope and Cardinals; and that they 'liked it very well for Proteſtants to be trained up in a Form of 'Prayer and Service; yet the Cardinals (firſt giving him Thanks 'for his Reſpect) ſent him word, that they thought it was not fit-'ting for *Scotland*. That Father *Fitz-Herbert* told him, he was 'Witneſs of all this, being ſent for by the Cardinal to give them 'his Opinion about it, and of the Temper of the Scots. And 'that *Laud* hearing the Cenſure of the Cardinals concerning his In-'tention and Form of Prayer, to ingratiate himſelf the more in 'their Favour, corrected ſome things in it, and made it more harſh 'and unreaſonable for that Nation.

This good Man, Mr. *Gage*, after he had there related the Matter as above, expreſſes himſelf thus; 'This moſt true Relation of 'Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, I have oft ſpoke of in private Diſcourſe, and 'publickly in Preaching; and I could not in Conſcience omit it 'here, both to vindicate the juſt Cenſure of Death, which the 'Parliament gave againſt him, and to reprove the ungrounded Opi-'nion and Error of ſome *ignorant Spirits*, who have ſince his Death 'highly exalted and cried him up for a Martyr.

You may alſo find ſomething like this of Mr. *Gage* in Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Memoirs*, pag. 83. he relates, 'That in the Year 1638, one '*Abernethy*, who from a Jeſuit turned a zealous Presbyterian, 'ſpread a Story in *Scotland*, which took wonderfully, of the Litur-'gy of that Kingdom, being ſent to *Rome* to ſome Cardinals to

'be revised by them; and that Signior *Con* (the Popes Nuncio 'to the Court of *England*) had shewed it to *Abernethy* at *Rome*. 'Indeed the Bishop adds, 'That the Marquess of *Hamilton* wrote to '*Con* about it; but he protested seriously, he never so much as 'had heard of a Liturgy designed for *Scotland*, till he came last to '*England*; that he had never seen *Abernethy* at *Rome* but once; and 'finding him light-headed, had never again taken notice of 'him.

Now it takes not much from the Credit of *Abernethy*'s Relation, that *Con* denied it, for it must be noted, that he was a Jesuit; and according to the Tenets of the Romish Church, 'twas lawful, if not his Duty, to lie for Holy Church.

You come next, with a most convincing Argument, to shew the Falshood of my last Assertion: *What!* (say you, *pag.* 19.) *Bishop* Laud *send to the Pope and Cardinals for their Approbation of a Liturgy almost the same with ours?* I think this vexatious Ghost will never be laid; I thought we had done with *Laud*, but here he appears again: *What!* Laud *send to the Pope to approve a Liturgy almost the same with ours?* Ay, *Laud*, the most likely Bishop in *England* to do it! You say, That *his Heart was set upon Designs of Uniformity:* And was not this the most probable Course to accomplish them? Mr. *Whitlock* (whom you will credit) shews (as I but now told you) that *Laud* declared, That *the Protestant Religion, and Romish Religion, were all one; and if the one was false, so was the other.* That *he brought the Romish and English Churches* (I think I must say *Steeple-houses* to be rightly understood) *to such a Uniformity, that the Popish Priests knew no difference between theirs and ours.* Why then may we not believe, that in pursuit of that *Plot of Uniformity* his Heart was so much set upon, he sought the Pope's Approbation of the Liturgy; whom (as Mr. *Whitlock* himself declares) he held to be *the Metropolitan Bishop of the World*; so that *Laud* was to him, as that Traitor *Turner*, late Bishop of *Ely*, to *Sancroft*, but a *younger Brother?*

Proceeding to argue the Point, you say; *Sure, Sir, you have forgot the Bull of the Pope, in the* 10*th of Queen* Elizabeth, *which commands all his pretended Catholick Children, not to attend upon the publick Liturgical Devotions of our Church; and you have forgot that* [*the Papists upon that account, and by virtue of the Authority of that Bull, have declined our Publick Service ever since*]; *and therefore it is very likely Bishop* Laud *should send a Liturgy to* Rome *for its Approbation.*

bation. Moſt likely, for this very reaſon, and one who did not well know you to be a Hare-brain'd Blunderbuſs, would be ready to conclude with that *ingenious Jacobite* of the *Lacedemonian Society*; who inveighing againſt my Letter, told a Friend of mine, it muſt be anſwered by a *better Pen*, for the *Doctor writes*, ſaid he, *as though he play'd booty*. I appeal to any Man of common Underſtanding, whether a better Reaſon can be invented, to perſuade the World of the Probability of *Laud*'s ſending the *Common-Prayer-Book* to be approved at *Rome*, than you here aſſigned: The Point is already ſettled, that his Head was ſet upon *Deſigns of Uniformity*; *the Pope was his elder Brother*; *the Papiſts came to the Common-Prayers of our Church for the firſt* 10 *years of Q.* Elizabeth; and by conſequence, might have ſo done to this day, had not Pope *Pius* the 5*th* prohibited them. Let any Man ſhew me a more probable way to obtain a Repeal of that Bull, which hath made the Papiſts ever ſince decline our *Liturgical Church-Devotions*, and to bring them to Church again, or rather to bring us to go to Church with them, than by introducing *a Liturgy* allowed and approved by his *Holineſs*; *a Liturgy in which* (as I ſaid, and you do not deny) *all the material Parts of the Maſs-Book ſeminally were*; and wherein *Tranſubſtantiation* was rather allowed, than denied. But that empty Head of yours, is carried round, that you do not know what is fit to be ſaid. What have we next?

Page 20. *Well, Sir, you ſay, If* [the Common-Prayer-Book] *was ſent into* Scotland; *pray let me aſk you one Queſtion*; *In whoſe Name, and by whoſe Authority was it ſent?*

The Anſwer is as obvious as ſhort, and you needed not to have ſent to *Switzerland* to have a Reſolution in the point; 'twas ſent in the name of *one*, who had not Authority to impoſe it upon the *Scots* according to their Laws.

You go on, ſaying, *Why, if they did not like it, did they not firſt ſubmiſſively petition their lawful King, and let him know how diſguſtful the Liturgy was to many of his Subjects in that Kingdom?*

Why, 'tis moſt evident from all the Hiſtorians of that time, that they did in the very beginning, petition in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner againſt the impoſing this *Liturgy*; and that thereupon, after the firſt reading it in the great Church of *Edinburgh*, upon the 23*d* of *July*, 1637, the *Council* of *Scotland* yielded that it ſhould not be further urged by the Biſhops, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure were known. Upon which, the Petitioners returned ſatisfied to their Habitati-

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ons. But upon the 18*th* of *October*, there being a great conflux of People at *Edinburgh*, to hear the *King's* Determinations, a *Proclamation* was publiſhed, commanding them upon pain of *Rebellion* to depart the City; and ſhortly after, the *King* commanded the *Privy Council to receive no more Petitions* againſt the *Common-Prayer-Book*. Nevertheleſs you confidently demand, *Why, if they did not like it, did they not firſt ſubmiſſively petition?* But the *Scots* ſhall here anſwer for themſelves; take their own words in their Charge exhibited in Parliament againſt *Laud*; 'Our Supplications (ſay they) were 'many againſt this Book, but *Canterbury* procured them to be an-'ſwer'd with terrible Proclamations: we were conſtrained to uſe 'the remedy of Proteſtation; but for our Proteſtations, *Canterbury* 'procured us to be declared Rebels and Traitors in all the Pariſh-'Kirks of *England*. When we were ſeeking to poſſeſs our Religion 'in Peace, againſt theſe Devices and Novations, *Canterbury* kind-'led War againſt us. —— Our *Scotiſh* Prelates petitioned that ſome-'thing might be abated of the *Engliſh* Ceremonies, as the Croſs in 'Baptiſm, *&c.* but he would not only have theſe kept, but others 'ſuper-added; which was nothing elſe but the adding Fewel to 'the Fire.

Read alſo their Expoſtulation in their *Remonſtrance*, 1639, *Pag.* 4. 'Certainly Poſterity will hardly believe (as we who have ſeen it 'cannot but wonder) how it hath come to paſs that we ſhould 'have ſo long petitioned our Native Prince to do us Juſtice, where-'of he is Debtor to his People; and to hear our juſt Complaints a-'gainſt the Uſurpation of a few Men, who were undermining the 'profeſſed Religion and the Government of the State, and to 'ſuffer us to live according to our Laws, and yet could never be 'heard nor anſwer'd in the point of our juſt Deſires; far leſs will 'they gueſs what hath been the ground of that merit and truſt of 'one domineering Prelate, in the Affection of the King, that it 'ſhould be more forcible to diſwade, than all the Supplications and 'Interceſſions of ſo ancient and faithful a Nation, ſhould have po-'wer to move.

Well, what ſay you next, Mr. Tittle-tattle? *The Scots took a Covenant againſt Compliance with the Church of* England.

Againſt Compliance with the Church of England; Ay, now 'tis out, there's the ground of the Quarrel; *the* Scots *traiterouſly refuſed to comply with Bp.* Laud: But they ſhall ſpeak for themſelves; they anſwer you thus, Doctor. 'We are free of the heavy Cenſures of

'Rebel-

'Rebellion and Treaſon, which are ſo ordinarily thunder'd out, 'that they are become the leſs formidable to us. We are ſupported 'with this inward Teſtimony, that we fear God, and ſtill honour 'the King; although our Adverſaries will not be pleaſed, except 'we will follow their Rules, which are not unlike thoſe of the Je'ſuits found at *Padua*, when they were expelled the Territory of '*Venice*: *One of them was*, [*that* Men ſhould take heed, that they 'preſs or inculcate not too much the Grace of God:] *Another was*, '[*that* Men muſt believe the Hierarchical Church, although it tells 'us, that that is black which our Eye judgeth to be white.] Unto 'which we may add the third, invented by *Ignatius Loyola*, [of *blind* '*Obedience*,] which we have no mind to practiſe. To move forward.

Page 22. *We find* (ſay you,) *their Seditious, Remonſtrances, Declarations and Pamphlets were diſperſed.*——

Now I cannot find that Mr. *Whitlock*, whom you quote, informs you, that their *Remonſtrances*, &c. were *ſeditious*: this is maliciouſly foiſted in by you, and if you were in *Scotland*, you would, as you deſerve, be ſeverely puniſhed (which you would call Perſecution) upon the Statute againſt *Leiſing-makers*.

Mr. *Whitlock*, in *Pag.* 28. which you cite, gives this Relation; 'About the year 1560, the Earl of *Murray*, with *Knox*, *Buchanan*, 'and others, gave ſuch a ſhock to *Popery*, as made every thing (and 'by conſequence *Epiſcopacy*) which ſtood near it, to reel. He then ſhews how *Epiſcopacy* and *Presbytery* took their turns of Government; and giving an Account of the *King's* Reſolution to inforce the *Common-Prayer-Book*; and by an Army to bring the *Scots* to obedience, (or as you phraſe it, to *compliance with the Church of* England); he ſaith, 'That becauſe this was the Biſhop's War, 'it was held fit that they ſhould contribute largely towards the 'Preſervation of their own Hierarchy; and accordingly, the Cler'gy were aſſembled by the Biſhops, in their Dioceſſes, and invited 'to a liberal Aid.

I ſhall now, (Sir,) in a ſhort Digreſſion, ſhew you from Mr. *Whitlock*, how this was growing up, from being the *Biſhop's*, to be a *Popiſh War*; he relates, *Page* 31. 'That the *Queen* employed Sir '*Kenelm Digby*, and Mr. *Walter Mountague* (who at that very time, as we have it in *Gage's Survey of the Weſt-Indies*, p. 209, ſtood Candidates at *Rome* for a *Cardinal's-Cap*;) 'to labour the Papiſts for 'a liberal Contribution, which they gained; and Sir *Baſil Brooks*,

'a

'a Perſon afterwards very active in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, was ap-
'pointed Treaſurer for the Monies, thus raiſed by the Queen's So-
'licitation for this War againſt the *Scots*: hereupon ſome ſtiled
'the Forces raiſed againſt the *Scots*, in the beginning of the year
'1640, THE POPISH ARMY. But to return to what I intended;
I will ſhew you the Heads of the *Scotch Declaration*, which Mr. *Whit-
lock* puts down upon the *Page* you mention; and that I may not be
accuſed of Partiality, take firſt the *King's Declaration*; 'His *Ma-
'jeſty* ſaith, he ſets it forth to inform his Subjects of the ſeditious
'Practices of ſome in *Scotland*, ſeeking the overthrow of Regal
'Power, under falſe pretext of Religion, *&c.* He takes God to
'witneſs, he is conſtrained by their Treaſons, to take Arms for the
'ſafety of that and this Kingdom. He reſolves to maintain Epiſco-
'pacy there, *&c.*

The *Scots* anſwer; 'That though the Secrets of God's Ways
'cannot be ſounded, yet conſidering his Providence in their per-
'ſonal Affairs, the Lord is about ſome great Work on Earth;
'for the Cup of Affliction propined to other Reformed Kirks is
'now preſented to them: ——That inſtead of a gracious return
'to their humble Petitions, from time to time, the return is a late
'Declaration libell'd againſt them; though the Gates of Hell ſhall
'not prevail againſt their Cauſe, and the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt
'now in queſtion. Which Declaration proceeds from the Unchri-
'ſtian Prelates and their Party. They conclude, ſetting forth
'their long ſuffering of the Prelates Inſolency, *&c.* and fearing
'Popery to be introduced. And they ſay, for doing any harm to
'*England*, curſed be their Breaſts, if they harbour any ſuch
'Thought, *&c.*

Your next Accuſation, Doctor, againſt the *Scots*, is, Page 23. *The King conſents to a Treaty; Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides; and they came to a Concluſion, agreeing upon ſeven Articles; The King juſtly performed the Articles on his ſide, notwithſtanding the firſt Article agreed upon, was to disband the Forces of* Scotland *within* 24 *hours, yet theſe perfidious Perſons kept part of their Forces in a body; and all their Officers in pay, and kept up their Fortifications at* Leith. *And now let the Reader judg by this, how deſerving theſe Men are of ſuch Commendations, as this peſtilent and bold Letter-Writer gives them.*

Take

Take a full Anſwer to this Slander, from *the Repreſentation of the Proceedings of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *ſince the late Pacification by the Eſtates of the Kingdom*, pag. 35. 'We within the ſpace of 'forty eight hours, the time appointed by his Majeſty, diſſolved 'our Army. Concerning the Officers, we were careful, both to 'obſerve that Article of *the Pacification* to his Majeſty, and alſo to 'keep promiſe to them; which did bind us not to hold them in Mi-'litary Pay, but to vouchſafe them Entertainment, till they ſhould 'be reſtored to their own, or called to other Service; which ought 'not to be taken for any Breach, Contempt, or Diſobedience, but 'for an obſervation of the Law of Nature, and common Equity, they 'being our own Natives, and having forſaken their Places and 'Means, for Defence of Us and their Native Country; leſs than 'this neither could they expect, nor we perform, although the 'Peace had been moſt firmly ſettled.

'*All Forts and Caſtles were ſpeedily reſtored*, although they be now 'uſed for a Terror and Invaſion againſt us. Some part of the *For-'tifications* at *Leith* was demoliſhed, for his Majeſty's Satisfaction; 'and the whole remitted by his Majeſty to the Town of *Edinburgh*, 'as having right to the ſame.

See further what they ſay in Refutation of this vile Calumny, in their *Remonſtrance concerning the preſent Troubles*, pag. 7. 'We 'delivered all Places into his Majeſty's Hands, which were deſired, 'in teſtimony of our Obedience; and although they might have 'been in our Hands, Pledges of Aſſurance for performance of thoſe 'Articles that were agreed to be granted in the following *Aſſembly* 'and *Parliament*; and now, contrary to our Expectation, are tur-'ned for Engines of Terror, and Fetters of Slavery, to fruſtrate 'us from obtaining the benefit of that *Capitulation.*

Now to put you, *Doctor*, to eternal ſilence, I ſhall ſubjoin an unconquerable Evidence againſt your bold Aſſertion; *The Pacification was made upon the 18th of* June 1639. *And upon the 24th the Marqueſs of* Hamilton *received poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh *for the King.* This is in Biſhop *Burnet's Memoirs* of the two *Hamiltons*, pag. 144. 'tis a Book you have heard of, though I doubt never ſeen, (you ſhall preſently ſee why I ſay ſo.) If this Treatiſe be partial, it muſt incline to the *King* againſt the *Scots*, becauſe the *Marqueſs* was deeply engaged in the Royal Cauſe: This was not only wrote by the *Biſhop* when he was *a Chaplain to King* Charles *the Second*, from the *Marqueſſes own Memoirs*, but is dedicated to

the King, and was publiſhed with his Royal Teſtimonial, that *he had ſeen and approved it.* And is there room now for any Man to believe, that if the *Scots* had not acted with the higheſt Simplicity and Integrity in this Treaty, they would have inſtantly and voluntarily quitted the beſt Strength in that Kingdom to his Majeſty? And now let the Reader judg by this, whether one word that ſuch a *paltry Doctor* as you utter, out of your Pulpit, be to be credited?

Well, what comes next? e'ne what lies uppermoſt, *pag.* 23. *And whereas this ſcandalizing Perſon has the confidence to aſſert, that the King, when he came home, burnt, by the common Hangman, the Pacification he had made: I muſt tell him, he talks, as he has done all along throughout his Letter, falſly, and* [*againſt his own Reading and Knowledg*]*: and for this I appeal to Biſhop* Burnet *in his Memoirs of the two* Hamiltons, *where,* pag. 782. *he acquaints us, That the Scots publiſhed a falſe and ſcandalous Paper, entituled, Some of his Majeſties Treaties with his Subjects of* Scotland; *ſo Untrue and Seditious, that it was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. And are not you a baſe Perſon then, to obtrude ſuch a Lie upon the World as you have done? But it is no wonder, the Father, whoſe Cauſe you have ſerved in this rude and ſeditious Libel, is the Father of Lies.*

Why, now moſt *unhappy Doctor,* you are catch'd again; and whereas you ſay that *I talk falſly againſt my reading,* it will be found that *you talk at random for want of reading.* I told you that I ſuſpected you had never ſeen Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Memoirs,* you ſhall now ſee my reaſon for it; You quote *pag.* 782. and there are but 436 Pages in that Book, and 47 in the *Appendix.* And for my part, I have read it ſome Years ſince, and now turn'd it over, but cannot find therein the Story for which you vouch him: I am apt to think, (as you told me *pag.* 50.) That *ſome crafty Knave, finding you ready to pick up any Story, whereby you might ſerve your Cauſe, had a mind to put a Trick upon you, and to expoſe the Truth of the reſt of your Book, by telling you, That Biſhop* Burnet*'s Evidence againſt the* Scots, *would outweigh a thouſand Witneſſes; and that he had declared what falſe Loons they were, in a certain Book called his* Memoirs. But is not he a *Blockhead* then that will be ſo impoſed upon?

Nevertheleſs, to deal openly, and without reſerve in this Matter; I find theſe *Memoirs* ſpeaking thus, (*pag.* 143.) 'When the 'Scotch *Commiſſioners* came back to the Camp, they gave an account 'of their Negotiation; and beſides *Articles of Treaty,* they pro-

'duced

'duced another Paper, [*which passed among all for the Conditions of* '*Agreement*]; it was a Note containing some Points which 'were alledged to have been agreed to at *Berwick*, *verbally*, though 'not set down in the *written Treaty*; which was made up of some '*down-right Mistakes*, [this Term comes something short of *False*, '*Scandalous*, *Untrue and Seditious*, which are your *Epethets*]; and 'of *other things which the King in discourse had indeed said*, *but not* '*positively*, *nor as a Determination on which he had concluded.*——

It were now worth the knowing, what, in particular, these *down-right Mistakes*, *and these other things*, were; but this History leaving us in the dark therein, I shall shew you what was the main thing which gave distaste, in that Paper which Bishop *Burnet* saith, *passed among all for the Conditions of the Agreement*; and how the Estates of *Scotland* justified that Paper from the Imputation of *Mistakes*. The Paper is intituled, *Some Conditions of his Majesty's Treaty with his Subjects of* Scotland, *before the English Nobility*.

'It is there remembred, that it being with all Instancy and Hu-'mility prest, *Saturday*, June 15. that his Majesty would satisfy 'that main Desire of his Subjects, by declaring, that he would '*quit Episcopacy*; did answer, That it was not sought in our De-'sires. And when it was replied, That our first Desire to have 'the *Acts* of the *General Assembly* ratified, imported the same: 'His Majesty acknowledged it to be so, and averred, that he did 'not refuse it, but would advise till *Monday* the 17*th*. At which 'time his Majesty being prest to give some Signification of his *quit-*'*ting Episcopacy*: And it being plainly shown to his Majesty, That '*if he would labour to maintain Episcopacy*, *it would breed a miserable* '*Schism in this Kirk*, *and make such a Rupture and Division in this* '*Kingdom*, as would prove uncurable: And if his *Majesty* would 'let the *Kirk* and *Country* be freed of them, his *Majesty* would re-'ceive as hearty and dutiful Obedience as ever Prince received of a 'People: His *Majesty* answer'd, that he could not prelimit and 'forestal his Voice, but had appointed *a Free Assembly*, *which might* '*judg of all Ecclesiastical Matters*; the *Constitutions whereof he* '*promised to ratify in the ensuing Parliament.*

See now what the *Estates of Scotland* said, in vindication of themselves in this Matter; you will find them thus expressing it, in their *Representation of the Proceedings of the Kingdom*, pag. 15.

'After much Agitation, and many Consultations, his Majesties 'Declaration, touching the intended *Pacification* was read to our

'*Commiſſioners*; who, upon their Diſlike and Exceptions taken both at 'Matter and Expreſſions, as contrary to our Minds, and prejudicial to 'our Cauſe, did humbly remonſtrate, that *the Declaration*, as it was 'conceived, could not give Satisfaction to us from whom they were 'ſent. His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to command ſome words to 'be deleted, other words to be changed; and many parts thereof 'were, by *verbal Promiſes* and Interpretation, from his Majeſty's 'own Mouth, mitigated: Which in our Eſtimation, were equal 'to that which was written, ſome of *the Counſellors of England*, 'aſſuring our *Commiſſioners*, that *what was ſpoken and promiſed be-* 'fore Men of Honour, and in the Face of two Armies, was no leſs cer- 'tain, and would (no doubt) be as really performed, as if it had been 'written in Capital Letters*; which therefore were diligently ob- 'ſerved, carefully remembred, and punctually related by our 'Commiſſioners*, at their delivering of his *Majeſty's Declaration* to 'us: And without which, *we nor could nor would have condeſcended* 'and conſented to the Articles of the Declaration, more than we could or 'would, againſt the Light of our Minds and Conſciences, have ſinned 'againſt God, and condemned our own Deed.* Thus way was made 'to the *Pacification*, and for preoccupying all Miſtakes, whether 'wilful poſſibly by ſome, or through weakneſs of Memory by 'others. *Theſe vocal Interpretations and Expreſſions, were collected,* 'keeped by our ſelves, and in Papers delivered to ſome of the Commiſ- 'ſioners of* England.

It may now be obſerved, upon the whole Matter, that this Paper contained nothing contrary to the Articles, or the Pacification, but was a mollifying of his Majeſty's Declaration, that it might be the more readily received by the People. And it had been more than imaginable Impudence, to put into the Hands of the *Nobility of England*, a Paper profeſſing what was openly ſpoken but juſt before in their own hearing; and yet containing Untruths and ſeditious Poſitions, contrary to all that was done for Peace.

The Truth of the Caſe is this; The King had promiſed them a *General Aſſembly*, to be holden the 6*th* of *Auguſt*, and a *Parliament* upon the 20*th*, to ratify what ſhould be decreed in the *Aſſembly*: But he was reprimanded by the Queen and the Biſhops, who vilified *the Pacification*, and upbraided him, that he had brought home a diſhonourable Peace. Whereupon he altered his Mind, declaring, that what had been agreed, would be *unprofitable for the Kirk*, becauſe he well knew that nothing ſhort of the extirpation of *Prelacy* could

could ſatisfy that People. He therefore, about a Month after the *Pacification*, ſet himſelf to pick a Quarrel with them; and upon the 18*th* of *July*, 1639, he charged them with no leſs than Eighteen *Criminal Articles*; whereof they denied ſome, and made full Anſwers to the reſt. I ſhall touch upon two of them, becauſe they refer to your *Diſcourſe* which we are now examining.

The third *Article* was, 'Forces not diſmiſſed; and in particular, *Monro*'s Regiment yet kept on foot.

The Anſwer was this;

'Since his Majeſty will have that Regiment disbanded, the ſame 'ſhall be done preſently: But we humbly beg, that his Majeſty 'would be pleaſed to diſmiſs the Gariſons in *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, and 'the reſt of the Borders.

The 18*th Article* was; 'The Paper divulged; and if they a-'vow the ſame?

Which had this modeſt Anſwer:

'As we are moſt unwilling to fall upon any Queſtion which may 'ſeem to import the leaſt Contradiction with his Majeſty; ſo if it 'had not been the Truſt which we gave to the Relation of our 'Commiſſioners, the written Declaration would not have been ac-'ceptable, nor the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* Rendered, except for the 'Truſt we repoſed in their Relation, and Confidence in his Maje-'ſty's Royal Word, which we believe they did not forget: which 'Paper was only written for that cauſe, leſt his Majeſty, or his 'Subjects ſhould aver, that they ſpake any thing without War-'rant.

But having fully ſhewn that this Paper ſuffered innocently, I detain you no longer upon this Head.

In the next place, *pag.* 24. you exhibit a moſt heinous Article, not only againſt the *Scots*, but the *Engliſh* alſo; ***They*** *ſent* (you ſay) *NEW COMMISSIONERS to the King*. They did ſo; but I queſtion whether you underſtand the reaſon why they were called *New Commiſſioners*; and therefore this may inform you, that they ſent *Commiſſioners* not long before to ſupplicate for Peace; but *they were denied acceſs to the King's Preſence*, and commanded to return Home. You *go on*, *ſaying*, that Mr. *Whitlock* informs you, *pag.* 31. *they had great reſort to them, and many ſecret Counſels held with them by the diſcontented Engliſh, eſpecially thoſe who favoured Presbytery, and were no Friends to Biſhops.* Having conſulted Mr. *Whitlock*, I find you are ſo far right; but you break off in the middle

middle of the Sentence, and omit these words, [*or had suffered in the late Censures in the Star-Chamber, Exchequer, High-Commission, and other Judicatories*]; and I would fain know what you infer from this Tale, and what harm you see in it. Mr. *Whitlock* gave you the Names of some Honourable and never to be forgotten Patriots, who resorted to these *Commissioners*, to whose Names you ought to pay more deference, than to make a malicious Representation of their Visits and Conversation; the Earls of *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, &c. were Men, who with sad Hearts beheld the Innovation in Religion, and the infringing of Fundamental Laws and Liberties in both Kingdoms. Surely then, *Doctor*, without your license, such Men as these, may lawfully consult what means are proper to support the Fabrick, when they see Religion and Justice, which are the Pillars of the Government, to be undermined.

But, say you, *The Scots implored Aid from the French King, by a Letter under the Hands of many of their principal Actors.* You then put in an Appeal (*pag.* 25.) to your Reader, *Whether his Majesty had not just Reason, after such Discoveries as these were, to clap some of them in Prison; and whether he had been to blame, if for such traiterous Correspondencies with a Popish Prince, he had chopt off some of their Heads?*

I have a word or two which might be offer'd for stay of Execution of this hard Sentence, and desire to be heard, or rather that the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* may be permitted to speak in this case. 'This is that *French Letter* (saith that *Parliament*) so much 'insisted upon, as to open a Gate to let in Foreign Power to rule 'over *England* and our selves; which, by what Consequence it can 'be inferred, we would fain know? *When a People is sore distressed* 'by Sea and Land, is it unlawful, by the Law of God and Man, to call 'for Help from God and Man? Is there no Help nor Assistance by *Intercession*, by *Supply of Money*, &c? Is all Assistance by the *Sword*, 'and by *Men?* We love not Shrouds nor Disguisements, we speak 'the plain Truth, and fear nothing so much as that Truth be not 'known. Great Forces by Sea and Land were coming upon us: 'Informations went abroad in other Nations, to the prejudice of 'Us and our Cause. This made us resolve to write unto the '*French King*, apprehending that upon sinister Relation, his Power 'might be used against Us. *Aid and Assistance hath been given in* '*former Times.* If we have called now upon *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Sweden*,

'*Sweden*, *Poland*, or other Nations for Help, are we therefore in-
'viting them all to a Soveraignty over Us? And when all is ſaid or
'done, *the Letter was but an Embrio*, forſaken in the Birth, as con-
'taining ſome unfit Expreſſions, and not agreeable to our Inſtru-
'ctions, and therefore ſlighted by the Subſcribers, but catch'd
'by this *treacherous and ſecret Accuſer* of the Kingdom. Another
'Letter was formed conſonant to the Inſtructions, and ſigned by
'many Hands; but neither was this ſent from us, becauſe we con-
'ceived that Mediation from *France* would be but late to avert the
'Danger which was ſo near.——*It is univerſally known, that it was*
'*written in* May 1639, *and therefore ought to have been buried in the*
'*Pacification.*——*We love not to harp upon Subſcribing, or ſending*
'*of Letters to other Princes, and to the Pope himſelf, from Exam-*
'*ples of Old, and of Late, which are not hid from the Eyes of the*
'*World.* It is ſufficient to us to have juſtified our ſelves, and to
'ſhew how innocently the *Lord Loudon* ſuffereth, for putting his
'Hand to ſuch a Letter, the Guiltineſs or Innocence, not being
'perſonal or proper to the *Lord Loudon*, but *national* and common
'to us all. And although it had been a Fault, and his alone, yet
'whatſoever it was, it did in time, and for a long time, go before
'his Commiſſion and Imployment; and therefore ought not to
'have been challenged till he had returned to his Country, un-
'cloathed himſelf of his Commiſſion, and turned again to be what
'he was, *a private Nobleman*; *The Dignity and Safety of Nations,*
'*Kingdoms, Eſtates, and Republicks, are much intereſſed in their Com-*
'*miſſioners and Legats, (whether they be ſent from one Prince to ano-*
'*ther, or from a Kingdom, Province or Republick to their own Prince.)*
'*Their Dignity*; for what is done to *the Legat*, is interpreted to be
'done to them that ſent him. *Their Safety*; becauſe if *Legats* be
'wronged, *there can be no more compoſing of Differences, nor poſſibili-*
'*ty of Reconciliation.*——Moreover, *his Majeſty's own Royal and*
'*inviolable Warrant for the coming of our Commiſſioners to his Pre-*
'*ſence at this time, is enough for their ſafe Conduct and Security.* If
'they have committed any thing at home againſt their King, Coun-
'try, or any particular Subject; the *fundamental Liberties and In-*
'*dependency of the Kingdom, do require, that they be tried and judged*
'*at Home*, and in a legal way, by the ordinary Judicatories of the
'Land.——*We earneſtly intreat for their Liberty and Safety, who are*
'*to us as our ſelves.*

Me-

Methinks, now, if the King, according to the rash Advice of you *their Majesties frantick Chaplain* at *Aldgate*, should have chop'd off the Head of my Lord of *Lowdon*, one of the *Scotch* Commissioners, it would have offered *Violence to the Peace and Quiet of his Mind all the days of his Life.* But I must think again, his *Lordship* was *a Presbyterian, a Heretick, who would not comply with the Church of* England; that considered, you could do it with the greatest Complacency, and 'twould (I am satisfied) be highly to your content, that that People had but one Neck, so that you might do their business at a blow.

I remember that you told me, upon the occasion of my talking of *Laud*'s sending the *Scotch Common-Prayer-Book* to be approved at *Rome*, that you thought *I had got a Secret.* Whether I then had or not, you bring one into my Remembrance, by your enquiry *whether the King had been to blame, if he had chop'd off some of the* Scotch *Commissioners Heads*; and you shall have it.

I have heard, and do believe, that the *King* having, against all Justice, imprisoned the Earl of *Lowdon* (one of the Commissioners from the *Scotch Parliament*) in the *Tower*; he about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, sent his *own Letter to Sir* William Balfour, *Lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see my Lord of* Lowdon's *Head struck off within the Tower, before nine the next Morning:* Upon the Receipt of this Command, the *Lieutenant of the Tower*, that his Lordship might prepare for Death, gave him notice of it: He being surprized, as well he might, prevailed with Sir *William* to find out the *Marquess* of *Hamilton* (then in great favour with the King, and Master of the Horse) and to tell him, that he esteemed him to be engaged in Honour, to interpose in this matter. The Letter being thereupon carried and shewn to the *Marquess*, it struck him with Astonishment; and with no small difficulty, he made his way to the King, being then in Bed, and humbly enquired whether his Majesty had given such a Command for beheading the Earl of *Lowdon?* the King answered, *Yes, and I will be obeyed therein, he shall die.* The Marquess finding him inexorable, told his Majesty, that he would kiss his Hand, and instantly take his Horse and be gone; for he would not stay to see his Majesty massacred, as most certainly he would; for before the next Night, the whole City would come upon him. Hereby the King was wrought upon to hold his Hand, and countermand the fatal Warrant.

This

This is ſo incredible a piece of *Tyranny*, that I cannot expect you ſhould believe it upon my bare Aſſertion: I ſhall therefore ſhew you, that it ſeems to be pointed at in Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Memoirs*, Page 161. in theſe words; 'There were ſome ill *Inſtruments* 'about the King [*Biſhops no doubt on't*] who adviſed him to pro-'ceed *capitally* againſt *Lowdon*; *which is believed went very far*: But 'the *Marqueſs* of *Hamilton* oppoſed this *vigorouſly*; aſſuring the 'King, that *if that were done*, Scotland *was for ever loſt*.

Now, if Curioſity ſhall lead you to enquire further into this matter, you may do well to learn what is meant by the obſcure Expreſſion, [*which is believed went very far:*] and if that do not open the whole buſineſs to you, you will not fail of Satisfaction, if you can, by any Friend, make way to the Original Papers, from which my Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury* took his *Memoirs*, and which now are in the Hands of his *Grace* my Lord Duke of *Hamilton*.

A word or two more about *Scotland*, and we will caſt an Eye on your *Impeachment* againſt our own Nation: you very often term the Actions of that Kingdom, *factious*, *ſeditious*, *rebellious*, *traiterous*: Now let me ſhew you how the *Scotch Parliament* defined *Treaſon*; 'We entreat our Adverſaries (*ſay they*) to ſhew us in 'good earneſt, and not by way of Railing, in what ſenſe we have 'incurred the Cenſure of Rebellion and Treaſon; We cannot be 'moved to think, but the Mitre of a uſurping Prelate, by the Au-'thority of a National Council, may be thrown to the ground 'without the Violation or ſmalleſt Touch of the Crown or Scepter 'of Imperial Majeſty: To dethrone a Prelate, and to overturn 'Prelacy, we judg it no Treaſon againſt the King.——Traitors 'to God and their Country, muſt be Traitors to the King; and 'ſuch as are faithful to God and their Country, muſt be the King's 'beſt Subjects: The Right of his Majeſty's Crown, and the Acts of 'Parliament, command all the Subjects to riſe with the King, and 'to aſſiſt him, when he riſeth for God and the Country; but no 'Law, nor Act of Parliament, forbiddeth to ſtand for God and the 'Country, in the caſe of publick Invaſion.

Take now from Bp. *Burnet*'s *Memoirs*, a true Account of theſe *Scotch* Troubles, which have now been ſo troubleſome to you and me, and I'll return to Old *England*: 'The Lord's of the Council '(ſaith he,) *Page* 31, (not 782.) laid the greateſt blame upon

'Bishops, which appears from the Earl of *Traquaire*'s Letter to the 'Marquess of *Hamilton*, date 27. *Aug.* 1631. *viz.*

'At the meeting of the *Council*, 23*d* Instant, we found so much 'appearance of Trouble and Stir like to be, amongst People of all 'Qualities and Degrees, *upon the urging of this New-Service-Book*, 'that we durst no longer forbear to acquaint his Majesty therewith. '——Some of the leading Men of the Clergy are so violent, and 'many times without ground or true judgment; that their want 'of right Understanding how to compass business of this nature 'and weight, doth often breed as many Difficulties; and their '*rash and foolish Expressions and Attempts*, have bred such a Fear and 'Jealousy in the Hearts of many, that if his Majesty were rightly 'informed thereof, he would blame them, and justly think that '*from them arises the ground of many Mistakes amongst us.*——[This Bu-'siness, in good Faith, is, *by the Folly and Misgovernment of some of our* '*Clergy*, come to that height, that the like has not been seen in this 'Kingdom of a long time.]

No more of *Scotland*. Let's see what's next. You declare your Resolution, to apply your self *to the Defence of what you had formerly said in behalf of King* Charles; and proceed thus (*Page* 26.) You say, *That those Gracious Acts which I mention, were bought of him, and what then? What hath been more usual ever since Parliaments had a being in* England? *Pray look into the Statute-Book, and tell me what Gracious Favours can you find bestowed by the several Kings of this Realm, upon their People, that those People have not made their acknowledgments for them, by presenting their Soveraigns with great Sums of Money?*

What ridiculous Stuff is this? *Gracious Acts, Gracious Favours, &c.* It hath been heretofore well observed, that some who call themselves Church-men, have left their Station to become ignorant and unhappy States-men, who have made the Church, and the Tenets thereof, an Instrument of Bondage to the Subject. These Men tell us that Parliaments are not assembled to ease the Grievances of the Subject, but to fill the Coffers of the Prince: These Men teach Princes that all the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and the maintenance of them, are *Doals of Grace*, and Gifts of meer Favour, proceeding from the Prince, (and not the true Birth-right of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as Princes shall think fit. But pray let us see what these *Gracious Acts*, these *Gracious Favours*, were, which we bought,

bought, as in your Opinion we ought: They were Acts to declare the levying Money by way of forced Loan, Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, to be illegal, and againſt the undoubted Liberty of the Subject; to ſuppreſs the moſt accurſed and tyrannical Courts called the Star-Chamber and High-Commiſſion; to bring a Traytor to Juſtice; to ſecure us of the ſitting of a Parliament once in three Years, when the antient Laws gave us a right to Annual Parliaments, and when he had, to the high violation of thoſe Laws, kept us without a Parliament for about eleven Years. Theſe Acts, ſay you (their Majeſties Malapert Chaplain at *Aldgate*) are ſuch *Gracious Favours*, that if we will have them, we ought in all Conſcience to buy them. But our Engliſh Parliaments have always been of another Mind; and Sir *Robert Cotton* tells us in the Life of King *Henry* the Third, That that King was told in full Parliament, that they would not pay his Debts, nor give him a Groat, *poſtquam cœpit eſſe dilapidator Regni*, ſo long as he continued to deſtroy the Kingdom. And pray now turn to your Bible, and tell me what Text there, doth warrant this your wild Opinion. Where are we now?

But *buy theſe Acts did they? Pray who had the diſpoſal of the Money? how was it laid out? was it given to the King to do what he liſted withal? No, you know a great part of it was beſtowed on the* Scots, *for the good Service they did in rebelling againſt their King, and putting two Kingdoms into a Flame.*

I did obſerve (in my Letter to you) that the King had out of the Subjects Purſe in the firſt Year of the Parliament, *Nov.* 1640. one Million and an half of Money. I alſo remember that the King upon the Concluſion of the Treaty at *Rippon*, agreed to allow the *Scots* 850 *l. per diem*; and in anſwer to your queſtion, I ſay, the King had the diſpoſal of the Money; and as to what part of it the *Scots* received, the King paid it to them, for his having done againſt all Law and Reaſon what he liſted. And I will ſhew you from the Demand of that Nation, who ought to have paid the Reckoning. They ſay, 'We were conſtrained to take Arms for our Defence; 'The War on our part was Defenſive, and all Men do acknowledg, 'that in common Equity, the Defendant ſhould not be ſuffered to 'periſh in his juſt and neceſſary Defence; but that the Purſuer 'ought to bear the Charges of the Defendant. The prevalent Fa'ction of Prelates and Papiſts have moved every Stone againſt us, 'and uſed all ſorts of Means, not only their Counſels, Subſidies and

'Forces, but their Church-Canons and Prayers, for our utter Ruine, 'which make them obnoxious to our juſt Accuſations, and guilty 'of all the Loſſes and Wrongs which we have ſuſtained. And there-'fore we may now with the greater Reaſon and Confidence preſs 'our Demand, that the Parliament, the Kingdom, and the King 'himſelf may ſee us repaired in our Loſſes, at the Coſt of that 'Faction, by whoſe Means we have ſuſtained ſo much damage. We 'will never doubt but the Parliament in their Wiſdom and Juſtice, 'will provide that a proportionable part of the Coſt and Charges 'be born by the Delinquents. We wiſh the Juſtice of the Parlia-'ment may be declared in making the Burden more ſenſible to the 'Prelates and Papiſts, than to others who never have wronged us, 'which will conduce much to the Honour of the King and Parlia-'ment.

Page 27. You take notice of my Charge; that the King demurred to paſs the Bills for taking away the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion-Courts*, at the time when he paſſed the *Poll-Bill*, though preſented together to him for the Royal Aſſent; and demand whether he ought to have paſſed them, without *a Why or a Wherefore?*

No, by no means; you talk now like *a Rational Creature:* We are then to look for the *Why's and Wherefore's.* You acknowledg in your firſt Defence, that theſe Courts were *Grievances* to the Nation; and I ſaid, and by many ſad Inſtances proved, that they were *Arbitrary and Tyrannical Courts, Forges of Miſery, Oppreſſion and Violence:* There's then *a Why*, for you Doctor. The Parliament agreed with the King, to give him the *Poll-Bill* to remove theſe accurſed Courts of Oppreſſion and Tyranny; There's alſo *a Wherefore.* Nevertheleſs, though the Parliament voted that he ſhould paſs all the three Bills, or none at all; he ſnatching up their Money, runs away, and delays to paſs the Bills for abrogating the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion Courts*; and yet you affirmed, *That HE READILY paſſed whatſoever Bills the Parliament offered to him for redreſs of the Nations Grievances:* And whether he did or not, was the point in Controverſy between you and me.

The next thing in courſe, is, (*Page* 28.) the unhappy Earl of *Strafford*'s Caſe, in relation whereunto you, moſt learned Doctor, whoſe Head is ſwell'd like any Bladder with Wind and Vapour, do thus impeach the Lords and Commons; *Do not you know they were ſo little ſatisfied with the Legality of their Proceedings, that they in the very Bill* [for his Attainder] *inſerted a Clauſe, that this ſhould not be made*

made uſe of, as a Precedent for the time to come. This is well enough urged for a D. D. and is paſſable, the Man who utters it being conſidered: But I muſt tell you, Sir, what I have heard as wiſe a Man as you ſay about this Clauſe, of *not bringing it into Precedent*; that in ſuch Caſes it could not be otherwiſe, without leaving the ſame Power to the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which by the Statute of *Edward* the Third, is intruſted only with the Parliament; for that Statute, ennumerating all Treaſon cognizable by the Judges, reſerves to the Parliament *declarative Treaſon*; as that which they might be ſafely intruſted with: though it could not be ſo in the Hands of any other Juriſdiction. And that this is the reaſon of that Clauſe, I am told no Lawyer, though never ſo much a Tory, will deny.

Allow me now, Sir, ſeeing we are talking of *Strafford*, to lay before you a pleaſant Dialogue, which I find in *Whitlock's Memoirs*, *pag.* 41. between your three Martyrs, the *King*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, together with the Lord *Cottington*, a Papiſt; and that upon the 5th of *May* 1640. the very Day upon which the Parliament was diſſolved for their refuſing to furniſh Money to carry on the wicked War then reſolved upon againſt *Scotland*; the Paper is entituled,

No Danger of a War with Scotland; *if Offenſive, not Defenſive.*

'*K. Charles.* How can we undertake Offenſive War, if we have 'no Money?

'*E. of Strafford. Borrow of the City* 100000 *l.* go on vigorouſly 'to levy *Ship-Money*; your Majeſty having tryed the Affection of 'your People, *you are abſolved and looſe from all Rule of Government,* 'and to do what Power will admit: Your Majeſty having tried all 'ways, and being refuſed, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. 'And *you have an Army in* Ireland, *that you may imploy to reduce this* 'Kingdom to Obedience: For I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold 'out five Months.

'*Arch-biſhop.* You have tried all ways, and have always been de-'nied; *IT IS NOW LAWFUL TO TAKE IT BY FORCE.*

'*Lord Cottington.* Leagues abroad there may be made for the De-'fence of the Kingdom; *the Lower Houſe are weary of the King and* 'Church: [*The Enemies of Popery, were even in that Day Common-wealths-men.*] 'All Ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by, in this 'inevitable Neceſſity, and are to be uſed, being lawful.

'*Arch-biſhop. For an Offenſive, not a Defenſive War.*

'Straf-

'*Strafford*. The Town is full of Lords, put *the Commiſſion of* '*Array* on Foot; and if any of them ſtir, *We will make 'em ſmart.*

Now you will readily agree that this is no Sham, in regard it comes from Mr. *Whitlock*, whom you quote four or five times. Beſides, I aſſure you that it was given in Evidence upon Oath at the Earl of *Strafford*'s Tryal; and which further evinces the Truth thereof, the King inſtantly required the Loan of the City of *London*, as here adviſed, and for refuſal to comply therein, *Ludlow* tells you *pag.* 17. he impriſoned Sir *Stephen Soame*, Sir *Nicholas Rainton*, and other eminent Citizens. And were not theſe Halcion Days? were not theſe a rare Set of bleſſed Saints?

Pag. 32. You laſh me for my Relation of the King's tampering with the Army, to curb the Parliament and ſubdue them to his Will, and ſay, *that I tell a Story of* Piercy *and* Goring, &c. *ſuch a one as the Faction was wont to make uſe of upon all occaſions to amuſe and heat the People; but the beſt of it is, there are ſo many incredible Things* (you ſay) *in the Account, that I muſt tell you it hath not gained upon my belief at all; amongſt the reſt, you tell us that two of the Parties concerned, confeſs that all the French that were about the Town were to be mounted: but that which is the Nicker, is, that the Clergy would raiſe* 1000 *Horſe to aſſiſt them, and yet this Conſpiracy was under an Oath of Secrecy: And VERY LIKELY INDEED WHEN SO MANY CLERGY-MEN MUST BE ACQUAINTED WITH IT. Surely, Sir, you have a mighty Opinion of your ſelf.*——

Surely, Sir, you have a very bad Opinion of your Brethren of the Caſſock, or elſe a moſt weak way of arguing; and the more you ſay, the more you diſcover your Raſhneſs and want of Judgment: The Clergy will not con you Thanks for repreſenting them to the World as Blabs of their Tongues, to the prejudice of the Cauſe of Mother-Church; as an Order of Men, who may not be truſted with a Secret, committed to them under a ſtrict Oath. But *this Story* (you ſay) *has not gained upon your Belief:* who can help it? Our Saviour converted many of divers States and Conditions to the Faith, but we do not find that ever he converted a Prieſt: That the King did tamper with the Army to bring them againſt the Parliament, as I relate it, appears moſt evidently in *Whitlock*'s *Memoirs*, *Pag.* 44. and alſo by the ſeveral Informations, Examinations and Confeſſions upon Oath, (before a Committee of the Houſe of Lords) of the Parties engaged in it, moſt of them Men of Quality, and highly in Favour with the King. You may read them at large in *Huſ-*

Husband's exact Collections (a Book in esteem with you) beginning at *Pag.* 220. I there find that *the two Parties* who confessed that the French about the Town were to be mounted, and that *the Clergy* were to find 1000 Horse, were Lieutenant Colonel *Ballard* and Captain *Chudleigh*. But in regard you have taken the Pains to relate what his Majesty's Declaration said to this Point; I shall, for the setting the matter in its true Light, transcribe a brief Account thereof from the Declaration of the Parliament, (which you most rudely call the Faction) as you will find it in *Husband*'s Collections, *Pag.* 200. There, speaking of the intended Force upon the Parliament, they declare themselves thus. 'Certainly we have been 'more tender of his Majesty's Honour in this point, than he, who-'soever he was, that did write his Majesty's Declaration; where 'he calls God to witness he never had any such Thought, or knew 'of any such Resolution of bringing up the Army; which truly 'will seem strange to those who shall read the Depositions of 'Mr. *Goring*, Information of Mr. *Piercy*, the Examination of 'Mr. *Wilmot*, Mr. *Pollard* and others; with the other Examination 'of Capt. *Legg*, Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and Sir *John Conyers*: and consider 'the Condition and Nature of the Petition, which was sent unto 'Sir *Jacob Ashley*, under the Approbation of *C. R.* which his Ma-'jesty doth now acknowledg to be his own Hand; and being full of 'Scandal to the Parliament, might have proved dangerous to the 'whole Kingdom, if the Army should have interposed betwixt the 'King and them as was desired.

You tell me, *pag.* 43. That *I have been so bold in my Assertion about the Tumults, that I give the Lie to almost all the Historians that have writ the Transactions of those Times; and you refer me to the Votes of the Common Council*, Dec. 31. 1641. Now, because you are short in the Relation of that Matter, I shall give you it as it is in *Husband*'s *Collection*, pag. 30. The Lord *Newburgh*, upon *Dec.* 31. 1641, delivered a Message from his Majesty to the Common Council, to this effect; 'There having been of late many tumul-'tuary Assemblies about *Whitehal* and *Westminster*, the King recom-'mended to their Care the preventing the like Tumults; and de-'clared, That he was so well assured of the good Affections of the 'City, that he could in no wise understand it to have any share in 'the Fault of these Tumults, but that they proceed meerly from 'the mean and unruly People of the Suburbs, *&c.*

Here-

Hereupon the Common Council returned Anſwer, 'That they had 'no hand in theſe tumultuous Proceedings, and diſavowed the ſame; 'and promiſed their beſt Endeavours to prevent and ſuppreſs, in 'time to come, all ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, and all mutinous 'rebellious Perſons: And they humbly deſired, that all the De-'linquents, and Cauſers of Tumults, being apprehended, may re-'ceive condign Puniſhment. And,

'They ordered every Member of the Common Council to make 'it known, That if any Perſon ſhould neglect his Duty of Watch 'and Ward, *&c.* and not do his beſt Endeavour to ſuppreſs or 'prevent Tumults, he ſhall receive condign Puniſhment.

Now, *Sir*, I appeal to all Mankind, whether this doth any way ſerve your Purpoſe? You refer to the Votes of the Common Council, and would thence argue, that the King was neceſſitated, by reaſon of the Tumults, to leave *Whitehal*. But the contrary is moſt evident, from the King's Meſſage, and the Anſwer and Reſolutions of the City. The King declares, That he was well aſſured of the good Affections of the City, and that they had not any ſhare in the Fault of the Tumults, but that they proceeded meerly from the mean and unruly People of the Suburbs. The Common Council promiſes to prevent and ſuppreſs all Tumults, and command ſtrict Watch and Ward to be kept to that purpoſe. And might not the King have been hereby perſwaded, that he was in no danger from Tumults? Were not theſe Votes a full Security againſt Fear, from ſuch Diſorders for the future? No doubt but they were; but the King had other Deſigns than thoſe of Peace in his Head. I told you of his Majeſty's fortifying *Whitehal*, and that armed Men ſallied out thence, reviling, menacing, and wounding many Citizens paſſing by with Petitions to the Parliament; and that when the Parliament and People complained of thoſe Aſſaults, the King juſtified the Authors thereof; ſo that I muſt needs conclude (as I did before) that the Tumults were made at *Whitehal* by the King's own People; that *all his fear of Tumults, was but a meer Pretence and Occaſion taken, of his reſolved Abſence from the Parliament, that he might turn his ſlaſhing at the Court-Gate, to ſlaughtering in the Field.*

Pag. 44. you tell me, that *another Calumny wherewith I reproach the Memory of King* Charles, *is his unwillingneſs to iſſue out his Proclamations againſt the Iriſh Rebels; and when he did, commanded but* 40 *to be printed.* You then ſay, *The truth of it is, was this Story true, it would*

'twould be an inexcuſable Fault in the King; but to Refute me, you tranſcribe his Majeſties own Vindication of himſelf, which ſaith, that *he was in* Scotland *when the Rebellion broke forth, that he immediately recommended the care of that buſineſs to the Parliament here*; ——— *That if no Proclamation iſſued ſooner* (*of which for the preſent he was not certain, but thinks that others were iſſued out before*) *it was becauſe the Lords Juſtices of* Ireland, *deſired them no ſooner, and when they did, the number they deſired was but twenty.*

Now in Truth Sir, this doth little mend the matter; 'tis moſt ſtrange that the King ſhould publiſh to all the World in Print, that *he thinks other Proclamations were iſſued before*; he might without doubt have eaſily been at a certainty in this point, for had there been any ſuch thing, his Council Books, his Secretary of State, his Clerks of the Council, would have remembred him thereof; but to this day, no ſuch thing hath appeared nor ever will: And 'tis a poor excuſe to ſay, that *the Proclamation was no ſooner iſſued, becauſe not ſooner deſired.* We of this Age, do remember in what manner our Late Princes (Fathers 'nown Sons) have purſued the leaſt ſuſpition of Rebellion: You know that King *Charles* the Second, upon *the pretence of a Plot*, in the year 1683. was ſo far from deferring by the ſpace of three Months, to iſſue a *Proclamation* againſt his own Son, the *Duke* of *Monmouth*; that we had it in three days, and I do think there were rather forty Thouſand than forty Printed; for after we had it by it ſelf, for the better ſpreading thereof, it was publiſhed in the Gazette; the like courſe you well know, was taken by the Late King *James*; Firſt in the caſe of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and then in that of the Prince of *Orange*. But I will ſhew you what the Parliament ſaid in this caſe of the *Iriſh* Rebels in a Declaration in 1642.

'That when the Lords and Commons, had upon the firſt breaking 'out of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, immediately ſent over 20000*l.* and en-'gaged themſelves for the reduceing of the Rebels, yet the King af-'ter his Return from *Scotland*, was not pleaſed to take notice of it, 'until after ſome in the Houſe of Commons, had truly obſerved how 'forward his miſchievous Counſellors were, to incite him againſt his '*Proteſtant Subjects of* Scotland, and how ſlow to reſent the proceedings 'of his *Papiſt Traytors in Ireland.*

'That altho the Rebels had moſt impudently ſtiled themſelves, *The 'Queen's Army*, and profeſt that *the Cauſe of their Riſing was, to maintain 'the King's prerogative, and the Queen's Religion, againſt the Puritan Par-'liament of* England; and that thereupon the Parliament adviſed his 'Majeſty to wipe away this dangerous ſcandal by proclaiming them 'Rebels; which then would have weakned the Conſpirators in the be-'ginning, and have encouraged both the Parliament here, and good 'people there, the more vigorouſly to have oppoſed their proceedings; 'yet *no Proclamation was ſet forth to that purpoſe, till almoſt three Months 'after the breaking out of this Rebellion*, and then Command given, that 'but forty ſhould be Printed, nor they publiſhed, till further directi-'ons ſhould be given by his Majeſty.

'That the Parliament and Adventurers, had long ſince deſigned '5000 Foot and 500 Horſe for the Relief of *Munſter*, to be ſent 'under the Command *of the Lord Wharton*; but no Commiſſion for 'his Lordſhip could be obtained from his Majeſty, whereby *Lymerick* 'was wholly loſt.

'That when divers well affected perſons had prepared twelve Ships 'and Six Pinnaces, with more than 1000 Land Forces, at their 'own charge, for the ſervice of *Ireland*, and deſired nothing but a 'Commiſſion from his Majeſty to enable them thereunto; That Com-'miſſion, after twice ſending to *York* for the ſame, was likewiſe de-'nied.

'That altho the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, have three Months ſince 'earneſtly deſired to have two pieces of Battery ſent over for that 'Service, yet ſuch Commands are given to the Officers of the Tow-'er, that *none of his Majeſties Ordnance muſt be ſent to ſave his Maje-'ſties Kingdom.*

'That the Kings Souldiers took away at one time, Six hundred 'Suits of Cloaths; and at another time Three hundred Suits; which 'were ſent by the Parliament for the poor Souldiers in *Ireland.*

'That the Rebels did lately ſend a Petition to his Majeſty, Intitu-'ling themſelves *his Majeſties Catholick Subjects of* Ireland, com-'plaining of the *Puritan Parliament* of England, and *deſiring, that ſince 'his Majeſty comes not thither, according to their expectation, that they may 'come into* England *to his Majeſty.*

You

You come (page 46) to Examine who were the first Beginners of the War, and say, *The Parliament did really, and indeed first draw the Sword, and sound the Trumpet to Battle———Whereas the King set up his Standard at* Nottingham *in* August, *did not the Lords and Commons in* June *before, make an Order for bringing in of Mony, or Plate, to maintain Horses, Horse-men and Arms?*

And did not the King long before, in the beginning of the year 1642. when all things were in perfect Peace, send over *the Crown Jewels*, to buy Arms and Ammunition in *Holland*? did not he at that time, write to the *King* of *Denmark*, complaining of the Parliament, and asking Supplies from him, *ad propulsandos Hostes, to subdue his Enemies?* You were told of these things before, but you will not touch them, I shall not therefore trifle away more time with you, upon this point of the first beginning of the War; only I will mind you that the King *upon the 4th. of* July 1642. *Rendezvoused an Army at* Beverly *in* York-shire, *tho the Parliament did not Vote the Raising of an Army till the* 12th. And which is more, I will give you the Name of the first Martyr who fell in that War in defence of the Laws and Liberties of his Country; 'twas one *Percival* of *Kirkman Shalme* in *Lancashire*; he was Murdered the 15th. of *July* 1642. near *Manchester*, by the Kings Forces, under the Command of the Lord *Strange*, Son to the Earl of *Derby*; for which that Lord was impeached in Parliament; you may see a particular Account of this, in *May*'s History of the War, pa. 109. in *Husband*'s Collections 611. and in *Rushworth*'s Collections 3d. Part. Vol. 1st. pa. 680.

Well, I see to my Comfort that we shall soon draw to a Conclusion; you say p. 49. *I have Answered your Grand Impeachments and Accusations of this great and Excellent Prince: As for the other things, with which you stuft your Libell, I say, alas Sr. you must not think to catch some Birds, (and there are thanks be to God, great numbers of them in the Kingdom) with such Chaffe as this.*

There are indeed in *England* a great many kinds of Birds and of Beasts also, and a great many of every kind, and before we part we will a little recreate our selves with some of them: *you must not think to catch such Birds with Chaffe*: A witty Conceit upon my word; and had your dull fancy chopt upon this other flight, *neither must Chickens think to feed Capons*, it would have made you as proud as a Peacock,

and you would have clapt your Wings & crow'd like any fighting Cock, at the wit of the Expreſſion; But (begging pardon of your Gravity) I will tell you that it hath been obſerved, that of all Creatures in the Creation, the *Owle* of Birds, and the *Aſs* of Beaſts are the moſt grave, 'and Sr. *William Temple* in his *Memoires* of what paſt in *Chriſtendom* 'from 1672, to 1679, page 57, ſaith, that *Old Prince Maurice of* '*Naſſau* when he was about 76 years of Age (having ever paſſed for 'an honeſt and pious man) informed him, that when he was Gover-'nor of *Braſil*, he heard of a *Parrot*, that ſpoke, and asked, and 'anſwered common queſtions like a reaſonable Creature, and tho he 'believed nothing of it, his curioſity lead him to ſend for it; That 'when it came firſt into the Roome where the Prince was, with a 'great many *Dutch men* about him, it ſaid preſently, *What a Company* '*of White Men are here?* they asked it, *what he thought that Man was?* 'pointing to the Prince, it anſwered, *Some General or other*; the Prince 'asked it, *whence came you?* it anſwered, *from Maranan*; the Prince, '*to whom do you belong?* the Parrot, *to a Portugez*; Prince, *what do* '*you do there?* Parrot, *I look after the Chickens*; the Prince laughed and 'ſaid, *you, look after the Chickens?* the Parrot anſwered, *yes I, and I* '*know well enough how to do it*, and made the *Chuck* four or five times, 'that People uſe to make to Chickens when they call them.

Now one would hope that this pritty Bird which diſcourſed ſo rationally, might put *a braying Beaſt* to ſilence, if any thing but pulling out the *Aſſes* Tongue could do it: you ſee *Doctor*, that this Underſtanding *Parrot* could diſtinguiſh *Woite from Black*, knew its own Capacity, and undertook no other Task than it could well perform, crying *Chuck*, *Chuck*, *Chuck*, to the Chickens very pertinently, which is more than you do to your Birds; that this ingenious fair dealing *Parrot*, when it talked with the *Prince* (not thinking it would paſs for an anſwer to have told him, *you muſt not think to catch ſuch Birds as me with Chaffe*) came cloſe to the point, and gave direct and ſenſible Anſwers to plain and honeſt Queſtions, whereas you prevaricate in a moſt ſhameful manner, and prate, as tho you were only fit for the Converſation of a Flock of *Magpies*, *Jackdaws*, *Wood cocks*, *Owles*, and *Buzzards*. 'Tis evident that your itch of Vain glory, and unparalleld Confidence, makes you affirm that you have anſwered me, and you would be thought to have ſaid all that can be ſaid, when you hardly ſay any thing, but blate what you know nothing of; you have heap'd up together many Impertinencies, abundance of Rubbiſh and Trifles,

but

but treated of nothing with Solidity and Judgment, nor so much as touched the Tenth part of the matters charged in my Letter, but in your natural levity, skipping them over, would perswade *the Birds of your Feather*, (I gave you their names but now) that as *Chaffe*, you make them to vanish with a puff of your mouth: But indeed, when I consider how miserable a Wretch of an Answerer you do here render your self, and yet how you persist still in your huffing and strutting, and do more and more revile and rail, I cannot (especially seeing it relates to one of your own Birds) but present you with another piece of Mr. *Marvel's* profane Wit, as you will call it; 'I have seen (saith he) 'with some pleasure, the Hawking at the *Magpye*; the poor Bird un-'derstands very well the tetrible pounces of that Vulture, but there-'fore she chatters amain most rufully, and spreads and cocks her tail, 'so that one that first saw and heard the sport, would think that she 'insulted over the Hawk in that Chatter, and huffed her Train in 'token of Courage and Victory; when, alas! tis all from her fear, 'and another way of crying the Hawke mercy; and to the end that, 'the Hawke finding nothing but Tail and Feather to strike at, she 'may so perhaps shelter her Body. I have been too long trifling at this Boyes Play of Bird-catching; I return now to a more manly Re-creation, and having already dispatched the *Wild Boar*, the *fierce Tygre*, *dull Ass*, I pass by the *Monkey*, the *Ape*, the *Baboon*, and that great Herd of the many other despicable Animals, and will a little hunt the *barking Woolf*.

Quoth you Doctor, (page 50.) *I am ready to take my leave of you, but before we part, I must needs reckon with you upon the score of a Reflection you have made upon my self, your are pleased to say, you understand I was a Presbyterian Minister in* Essex, *which words have almost forced me to a smile.*

Now, if I were mistaken as to your being a *Presbyterian Minister* in *Essex*, you are not to make your self too merry with it, nor may you deny your having changed your Opinion from what it formerly was; for you know there are many of your Contemporaries in the University of *Cambridge*, who knew you to be a Presbyterian there, and I could name you an honest Gentleman now in being, who you know hath reason to be acquainted with all the steps you have taken from your youth and he saith that you left the University upon a dislike of the Ceremonies, and persisted in that dislike, till your fund there was no-

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Preferment to be got but by Conformity; so that I may with truth say, you are one of Dr. *Wild's Changlings*, and that he gave us your exact Marks, when he thus described you in his Poem called, *The Recantation of a Penitent Proteus, or the Changling.*

* My *Conscience* first, like *Balaam's*
Ass was shy,
Boggl'd and Winc'd, which when I did espy,
I cudgel'd her and spur'd her on each side,
Untill the Jade her Paces all could ride.

* The Doctor saith *P.* 51. of 2*d* Defence, I tooke time to Consider the Nature and Terms of Conformity, *which by my former Education I was wholly a Stranger to.*

When first I mounted on her tender Back,
She would not leave *the Protestant Dull Rack,*
Till in her Mouth *the Cov'nant Bit* I got,
And made her learn the *Presbyterian Trot.*

'Twas an hard Trot, and fretted her (alas)
The Independent Amble easier was;
I taught her that, and out of that to fall
To the Tantivy of Prelatical,

Now with a Snaffle, or a twined Thread,
To any Government she'l turn her head:
I have so broke her, She will never start,
And that's the meaning of my *Broken heart.*

Cambridge I left with grief, and great disgrace,
To seek my Fortune in some other place,
And that I might the better save my stake,
I took an Order, and did *Orders take.*

Amongst *Conformists* I my self did list,
A Son o'th Church as good as ever pist;

But

But tho I bow'd, and cring'd, and croſt and all,
I only got a * *Vicaridge* very ſmall.

* The Vicaridge of *Weſtham* in *Eſſex*

Oh! I am almoſt mad, 'twould make one ſo,
To ſee which way Preferment's-game doth go,
I ever thought I had her in the Wind,
And yet I'm caſt above three years behind.

Three times already I have turn'd my Coat,
Three times already I have chang'd my Note;
I'le make it Four, and four and Twenty more,
And turn the Compaſs round e're I'le give o're.

Ambition, my great Goddeſs and my Muſe,
Inſpire thy Prophets all ſuch Arts to uſe,
As may exalt; betwixt this and my Grave,
A Mitre, or *a Halter* I muſt have.

Tell me *Ambition*! prithee tell me why,
So many *Dunces*, *Doctors*, and not I?
A Scarlet Gown I muſt and will obtain.
I cannot elſe Commence *a Prieſt in Grain.*

If this Poets *Eccleſiaſtical Pencil* has not drawn you to the Life, you ſhall ſee that *Lay Proſe* comes pritty near you, Mr. *Marvel* (whom I chooſe always to ply you with, above all other Authors) deſcribes you thus,

'He was ſent to *Cambridge* to be bred up to the Miniſtry; There 'in a ſhort time, he entered himſelf into the Company of ſome young 'Students, who were uſed to *Faſt* and *Pray* weekly together; he 'pick'd Acquaintance with the *Brotherhood*, and train'd himſelf up in 'attending upon their Sermons and Prayers, till he had gained ſuch 'Proficience, that he too, began to Exerciſe in the Meetings, and by 'Preaching Mr. *Baxter*'s Sermons, he got the Reputation of one of 'the *Precioueſt* young Men in the *Univerſity*: But when thus after ſe-

've-

veral years Approbation, he was even ready to have taken the 'Charge, not of an *Admiring Drove*, or *Herd*, as he now calls them, 'but of a *Flock* upon him; by great misfortune to him, the King 'came in, nevertheless he broke not off yet from his former habitudes; 'he persisted, as far as in him was (that is by *Praying*, *Caballing*, and '*Discoursing*) to obstruct the Restoring of the Episcopal Government, 'Revenues and Authority; insomuch that being discountenanced, 'he went away from the University without his Degree, scrupling 'forsooth, the Subscription then required: From thence he came to '*London*, where he spent a considerable time in creeping into all Cor-'ners and Companies, horoscoping up and down concerning the du-'ration of the Government, not considering any thing as best, but as 'most lasting and profitable; and after having many times cast a Fi-'gure, he at last satisfyed himself, that the Episcopal Government 'would endure as long as he lived; and from thence forward cast a-'bout how to be admitted into the Church of *England*, and find the 'High-way to her Preferments; In order to this, he daily inlarged 'not only his Conversation, but his Conscience, and was made free 'of some of the Town-Vices; imagining, like *Muleasses* King of '*Tunes*, that by hiding himself among the Onions, he should escape 'being traced by his perfumes: Ignorant and mistaken Man! that 'thought it necessary to part with any Vertue to get a Living; or that 'the Church of *England* did not require and encourage more sobriety 'than he could ever be guilty of: But neither was this yet in his opi-'nion sufficient, and therefore he resolved to try a shorter Path, which 'some few men have trode not unsuccessfully; that is, to Print a Book; 'if that would not do, a Second, if not that, a Third, and so forward, 'to give Experience of a keen stile, and a ductile Judgment: After 'this, he was ready to leap over the Moone; No scruple of Consci-'ence could stand in his way, and no Preferment seemed too high 'for his Ambition.

In the next place *Doctor*, you spit your Venome, and that even against their *Majesties*, page 51, you say, *Since the late Persecution in* Scotland *by that Party of Men* [the Presbyterians] *it is a greater scandal to be called a Presbyterian than it was before.*

I here observe, with what Reverence and Duty you speak of your Superiours and their Actions, when they are not so happy as to please you; this last thing is uttered most scandalously, and with a leering reflection

flection upon the Government; and tis a dangerous thing I perceive for their Majesties to lose your favour. When you talke page 15. of the Accursed Court of *Star-Chamber*, you do it with great Modesty and Manners saying, *If it be lawful for a private Person as I am, to pass a Judgment upon the publick Actions of a then Legal Court*; But here the *King* and *Queen* seeming to be fallen into disgrace with you, you assume the impudence to call their establishing *Presbytery* by Act of Parliament; *A Persecution*; So that what the *Scots* said in the year 1640, they may well repeat at this day; *All means* (said they) *are used to disgrace this Kirk, Books, Pasquils, honouring of our Cursed Bishops, advancing of our deposed Ministers*, &c.

'Twas it should seem scandalous in some measure, to be a persecuted Presbyterian, in the two By-past Reigns; but (in your Opinion Doctor,) 'tis so in a much higher degree, to be a Presbyterian, now that Presbytery has the Royal Favour and is settled by Act of Parliament, and yet you Sr, did heretofore esteem it no longer scandalous to be of the *Church* of *England*, than till she obtain'd a legal Establishment, and I can tell you the exact day when it became a scandal to you to be called a *Presbyterian*; 'twas *Bartholomew* day 1662. the day *when the Act of Uniformity* took place, and would a man take the liberty which you do, I should say when the *Bishops Persecution was revived in* England.

Well, *'Tis a Scandal to be a Presbyterian*, and it will puzzle a man to find out what you are, for you seem to esteem it a *Persecution*, that you may not compell all men to be of the *Church* of *England*, and yet you say p. 52. *It is true Sr. I have always been kind to Dissenters, and when the great Storm* [in plain English Persecution] *Eight and Nine years ago, fell upon the Dissenters, I preserved my own Parish from Charge and Trouble, to the great endangering of my self.* Alas! good Man, did you so, and yet do they abuse you? pray was all this kindness for naught? did not you interlope with Dr *Pinfold*? I have been told that you ought to have said that what you did in that day, was *to the great enriching of your self*, and that you had your *Why's* and your *Wherefore's* for your kindness to the Dissenters; that you received a constant Contribution from such of them as you preserved from *Doctors Commons*; and I know it may be made out, that at your own entreaty, a Collection was made amongst them, by Mr. *Ogden* and Mr. *Webster*, to raise the Money for to defray your Charges of *Commencing Doctor*;

and is it not an Act of fooliſh Prodigality in you, to throw off ſuch generous Benefactors as theſe ?

Having thus Examined your *Second Defence*, I ſhall now Sir recount the Heads of ſome things which you aſſerted in your Firſt, and which being anſwered by me, you paſs over in ſilence.

You affirmed page 7th. of your firſt Defence, that *the Parliament in their Remonſtrance* Dec. 1641. *made Reflections upon the King's former Government, unmannerly and falſe; and that the King anſwered it and vindicated himſelf from thoſe horrid aſperſions, wherewith they Loaded him:* Now, pa. 35. I denied the falſehood thereof, and ſaid, that the King only anſwer'd it, in ſaying, *We ſhall in few words paſs over that part of the Narrative, wherein the misfortunes of this Kingdom, from our firſt entring to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in ſo ſenſible expreſſions.*

You aſſerted pa 12. that *the King could by good Evidence prove*, the Lord *Mandevile*, Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym* and Mr. *Strode*, Members of the Houſe of Commons *Guilty of Treaſon*; Page 37, *&c.* I gave you the full Hiſtory of that matter, and ſhew'd that *the King retracted that raſh accuſation*, which I ſee is more than you will do, tho good manners one would think ſhould oblige you thereto, and to beg pardon eſpecially of the right Honourable, the preſent Earl of *Mancheſter*, as he is a Peer of the Realm; and of the right Honourable and moſt eminently deſerving Patriot Mr. *Hambden*, as he is Chancellour of the their Majeſties *Exchequer* and one of their moſt Honourable Privy-Council, for ſuch a horrid ſlander brought upon their highly deſerving Families; but you find it a grievous thing to forgo a falſehood that is ſerviceable to your great undertaking.

You affirm pa. 26. firſt defence, that *the Scots ſold the King to the Engliſh Parliament.* I denied it pa. 67. and ſhew'd that *the Scots might, with the conſent of the Parliament, have taken him home to his Native Country; but that they refuſed it, fearing he might raiſe new Commotions there*, and you have not thought fit to contradict me in this neither.

You

You, amongst other gracious concessions of the King's, wherein you glory, speak, pa. 11. 1st. Defence; of his consenting to *a Treaty at Uxbridge*. I (page 61) mentioned many things relating to that Treaty; and to shew the King's insincerity in his pretensions of Peace, gave a Relation how that at the very instant of that Treaty, he used all imaginable means to bring not only 10000 *Lorrainers*, but *the Irish Cut-Throats* against the Parliament; That he declared himself resolved to adhere not only to the *Bishops*, but also to the *Papists*, &c. These are Reproaches which you ought to wipe off, if you would defend this King to any purpose, but you touch them not.

View now I beseech you, the Heads of many of the Articles of misgovernment which I recounted, and which you have overlookt, only saying in relation to them, that *some Birds are not to be catcht with such Chaffe*, and I have done.

'I. King *Charles* I. *favoured Popery*; by his Marriage Articles he 'agreed that Papists should not be molested; he put above a hundred Popish Lords and Gentlemen into great Trusts.

'II. *His Bishops were unsound in their principles*; in particular *Laud* 'allowed Books which favoured Popery, but refused to License Books 'written against it. *His Chaplains* endeavoured to reconcile *England* to '*Rome*, and got preferment by it.

'III. *He Lent Ships to the French King to destroy the Protestants of* 'Rochel, which as the French boasted mowed the Hereticks down like 'Grass.

'IV. *He Raised an Army*, and required the Country to furnish *Coat* '*and Conduct Mony*; and Levied Mony by way of *Loane*, and *the Re*-'*fusers* of the meaner Rank (Men of Quality being imprisoned) *were* '*compelled to go for Souldiers, or to serve at Sea.*

'V. *He Suspended and Confined the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury (not '*Laud*, but Dr. *Abbot*) because he refused to make that good by Di-'vinity, which the King had done against the Laws. *He imprisoned* 'Dr. Williams *Bishop of* Lincoln, for speaking against the *Loane* and not prosecuting *Puritans.*

'VI. *He turned out the Lord Chief Juſtice* Crew *for oppoſing the* 'Loane.

'VII. He remitted 300000*l.* to *Holland* for the Levying Horſe and 'Men there, to ſerve his Arbitrary purpoſes.

'VIII. He violated *the Petition of Right*, ſo ſoon as it was paſſed 'into a Law.

'IX. He confined the *Earl of* Briſtol near two years, without any 'Accuſation; and he *Impriſoned the Earl of* Arundel in the time of '*Parliament*, without expreſſing any Cauſe of his Commitment.

'X. He ſhelter'd the *Duke* of *Buckingham* when he was Proſecuted 'in Parliament, as the Patron of a Popiſh Faction; and he Diſſol-'ved Parliaments when they were intent upon the Duke's Proſecu-'tion, and charged him in effect with *the Murder of King James*; In 'Relation whereunto, Sir *Edward Peyton* who was a Member of Parli-'ament in that time, doth thus expreſs himſelf in a Treatiſe called the '*Divine Cataſtrophe*; The Duke of *Buckingham* rewarded King '*James* by Poyſon, as appeared plainly in Parliament by the Evidence 'of divers Phyſitians, eſpecially Dr. *Ramſey*; and King *Charles*, to ſave 'the Duke, diſſolved the Parliament when he was Impeached for it, 'and never after had the Truth Tryed, to clear himſelf from Con-'federacy, or the Duke from ſo heinous a ſcandal.

'XI. *He Impriſoned Members of Parliament* in the time of Parlia-'ment, for refuſing to Anſwer out of the Parliament, what was ſaid 'and done there, *&c.*

'XII. He threatned the Houſe of Commons, that if they did not 'give him Supplies, *he would betake himſelf to New Counſels*; he aſſert-'ed, that *Parliaments were altogether in his Power, and therefore as they 'humour'd him, were to continue or not to be.*

You may here ſee Sir, to your ſhame (had you any) what a ſmall advance you have made, in the defence of that Cauſe which you ſo briskly engaged in; and how much of your Work you have devolved upon your better *Pen*. Before I take my leave of you, I ſhall ob-

ſerve

ſerve how little you, the mighty defender of Princes, are to be relyed upon; for tho you tell their Majeſties in the Dedication of your firſt Defence, that you *wrote it to ſecure them from Danger*; and the moſt Reverend, Right Reverend &c. had your word for it, in your Dedication of this Second Pamphlet, that *you had nothing more in your aim, in putting it out, than to preſerve the preſent Government in Church and State*; (A moſt commendable and highly meriting Undertaking upon my word) yet, (which is a melancholy conſideration) you their Majeſties great Preſerver, who ſo bravely engaged never to drop the Cauſe as long as you could hold a Pen; do now flinch and give ground, and as vanquiſhed by *a grey-headed Man with one foot in the Grave* (as you Confeſs me to be) you ſay page 13. that *you will not give your ſelf the trouble of Anſwering me* [a decrepit, crazy Adverſary] *but will ſpare your ſelf the labour becauſe you underſtand it is recommended to a better hand.* It is aſtoniſhingly ſtrange that you, this vaunting *Goliah*, who came out ſtrutting in a gigantick garb of Pace and Language, and with a terrible look, to Act a piece of Eccleſiaſtical Knight Errantry: That you, who in an unpreſidented manner, huff'd and threatned the World with that vaſt magazine of ſtuff, which you had amaſs'd to annoy the Man that ſhould be found in your way; that you, whom nothing muſt atone, but a *pray Maſter forgive me and I'le do ſo no more*; That ſuch a Doctor ſuch a Champion as you, ſhould on the ſudden be crying out for the aid of *better Hands, of better Pens* than your own; and that in a quarrel of your own picking; upon the ſucceſs whereof you vainly conceit *the Being and Well-being of their Majeſties and of every thing that is worth the preſerving depends.* But I ſee you *Inferiour Clergymen* do oft ſtand in need of *Guides*, and let who will come to your aſſiſtance, tho I am decrepit, this *good old Cauſe* I reſt aſſured, will abide firm and unſhaken, againſt all the attempts of ſuch Aſſailants as you can liſt and draw up againſt it: I mean the true Government of old *England*, by King, Lords, and Commons.

No more at preſent (dear Doctor) only I acquaint you at parting, that I am ſenſible I have not paid you the Tithe of what I owe you, but it lies ready for you, when you ſhall draw a Bill upon

Geneva,
May 29.
1692.

Your Debtor,

Edmund Ludlow.

Alla-

ALLatres licet uſque nos & uſque,
Et gannitibus improbis laceſſas;
Ignotus pereas Miſer, Neceſſe eſt.
Non deerunt tamen hac in Urbe forſan
Unus, vel duo, treſve, quatuorve,
Pellem rodere qui velint Caninam;
Nos hac a ſcabie tenemus ungues.

Rail on, poor feeble Scribler, ſpeak of me,
In as baſe Terms as the World ſpeaks of thee;
Sit ſwelling in thy Hole like a vex'd Toad,
And full of Malice ſpit thy ſpleen abroad;
Thou canſt blaſt no man's Fame with thy ill word,
Thy Pen is juſt as harmleſs as thy Sword.

FINIS.